

164







ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF CEYLON

# EPIGRAPHIA ZEYLANICA

BEING

LITHIC AND OTHER INSCRIPTIONS OF  
CEYLON

EDITED AND TRANSLATED

BY

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VOL. I

1904 — 1912



LONDON

PUBLISHED FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF CEYLON BY HENRY FROWDE  
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS, AMEN CORNER, E.C.

1912



OXFORD: HORACE HART  
PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY



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No. 19. JĒTAVANĀRĀMA SLAB-INSRIPTION (No. 1) OF  
MAHINDA IV (*circa* 1026-1042 A.D.)

**T**HIS slab lies in the Jētavanārāma area, not far from the 'stone-canoe' or trough on the outer circular road in Anurādhapura. It was examined by the Archaeological Commissioner (Mr. H. C. P. Bell) in 1890<sup>1</sup>.

The inscription, which covers an area of 6 ft. 2 in. by 3 ft. 11 in. of its smoothed side, is engraved in 55 lines, each within a ruled space, 1½ in. wide. Owing to the worn and damaged state of the stone a good portion of the text from the nineteenth line to the end is wholly illegible, as may be seen from the accompanying facsimile (Plate 28).

The **akṣaras** belong to the alphabet of the tenth and early eleventh centuries A.D. Their size varies from ¼ to 1 inch each, and their type<sup>2</sup> is that of the Vessagiri slab of Mahinda IV. The unsettled **orthography** too indicates its age, for example, the gerund of *upadinavā* is spelt *upādā* in the present inscription, *ipājā* in the following one, and *ipādā* in the Mihintale tablet. Similarly, *biso* and *bisev*; *Abhā*, *Abahay*, and *Abā*; *eme kulen sama-jāy* and *emā kulen sama-dā*; *bimb* and *bib*; *ṭamb* and *ṭāmb*; *pāmili* and *piyamili*.

The **language** is poetical, and teems with similes and metaphors, one jostling the other, which require a fair knowledge of Indian mythology to comprehend their full signification and the aptness of their application in ornate prose composition.

The inscription is one of **Mahinda IV**, referred to here, as in most of his other records, by the *biruda* title **Siri Saṅgbo Abā** (P. *Siri Saṅgha-bōdhi Abhaya*). The names of his parents too are given as **Siri Saṅgbo Abā** Maharaja and **Dev Gon** Biso-rājna. In the Mayilagastoṭa pillar-inscription<sup>3</sup>, and in the Mihintale tablets<sup>4</sup>, as well as in the following Jētavanārāma slab<sup>5</sup>, No. 2, his father is called **Abhā** (**Abahay** or **Abay**) **Salamevan**, whilst the Vēvālkāṭiya record<sup>6</sup> agrees with ours in naming him **Siri Saṅgbo Abhā** (or **Abā**). This shows that Mahinda's father was known by both these *birudas*. The question regarding his identity with Dappula V, who bore the same title **Abhā Salamevan**, as advanced above at page 79, is still not settled. Some indirect evidence may, however, be derived from the present inscription in support of the suggestion.

<sup>1</sup> A. S. C. Annual Report for 1890, p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> See remarks on p. 242, below.

<sup>3</sup> A. I. C. 120. See above, p. 78, note 2.

<sup>4</sup> Above, p. 91.

<sup>5</sup> Below, p. 231.

<sup>6</sup> Below, pp. 243 and 248.



It is stated in lines 21 and 29 that Mahinda's grandfather, the great king (*miti-maha-rad*) resolved to build **Minimevulā-maha-pahā** (P. *Maṇimēkhalā-mahā-pāsāda*), and that he had the book **Dhammasaṅgaṇi** copied. The *Pūjāvaliya*<sup>1</sup> ascribes the former act to Sēna I, while the *Mahāvamsa* says that his successor Sēna II (*circa* 917–952 A.D.) put an image of the Bōdhisatta and one of the Buddha himself with its pavilion in the *Maṇimēkhalāpāsāda*<sup>2</sup>. The truth may be that he built the temple also before he became king, when he was Mahādipāda. He may, moreover, have had the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* transcribed along with the **Ratanasutta**<sup>3</sup>; for his son Kassapa V 'caused the Abhidhamma Piṭaka to be written on plates of gold, and embellished the book *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* with divers jewels, and built for it a house in the midst of the city<sup>4</sup>.' These notices tend to show that the king referred to by *miti-maha-rad* ('the grandfather, the great king') in the present inscription was possibly no other than Sēna II, the father of Kassapa V and Dappula V, both of whom had the *biruda* Abhā or Abahay Salamevan<sup>5</sup>. Hence Mahinda IV may have been the son of one of these two kings.

Further, it is stated in line 27 that the building of the **Huligam-piriven**<sup>6</sup> was half completed by the great king, his brother. This temple may be identified with the *parivēṇa*, built by Mahinda's predecessor, Sēna IV, at Sitthāgāma, especially because the qualifying phrase 'where he himself had dwelt' occurs in reference to this place both in the *Mahāvamsa* (liv. 6) and in the present inscription (l. 26). If this identification be correct, Sēna IV must have been a brother of Mahinda IV, in which case they were the sons of Kassapa V or Dappula V.

The date of the inscription is given in lines 43 and 44, but the portion containing the name of the king and the number of the regnal year is in great part obliterated. What remains tells us that the record was promulgated on the tenth day of the waxing moon in the month of *Poson* (May–June). The regnal year of [Siri] Saṅgbo Abā may be the eighth, the same as that of his second inscription at this spot<sup>7</sup>.

The contents of the record give an account of the **Abhayagiri-vihāra** and

<sup>1</sup> See Guṇasēkara Mudaliyar's edition (1895) of Extract from the *Pūjāvaliya*, p. 27.

<sup>2</sup> *Mv.* li. 77.

<sup>3</sup> l. c. 79.

<sup>4</sup> *Mv.* lii. 50–51. See also the slab-inscription of Kassapa V, line 10 (above, p. 46).

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 24.

<sup>6</sup> This must not be confounded with Helagam-pirivena (P. *Hēligāma-parivēṇa*) built by Kassapa III more than two centuries before Mahinda IV. See *Mv.* xlviii. 24, and *Pūjāvaliya* Extract, p. 27.

<sup>7</sup> See below, p. 231.



a general survey of the charitable acts which Mahinda IV performed, as well as the religious monuments he erected and repaired. They agree in the main with what is related of him in the Ceylon chronicles, and afford us ample proof of his just and liberal principles. The policy of the 'open door,' which draws so much attention in modern politics, is tersely expressed in the phrase that he made Laṅkā 'a common stage for peoples of diverse appearances from diverse countries<sup>1</sup>.' The statement in the fifth line that he drove away the Dravidian foe may have reference to the crushing defeat which the army of the Cōla king, Vallabha, sustained at the hands of Sēna, the chief captain of Mahinda's forces<sup>2</sup>.

**Maha-dāmi** (P. *Mahā-dhammika*, line 12) may perhaps have been the popular designation of Dhammamitta, the elder of Sitthagāma, whom Mahinda employed to expound the Abhidhamma<sup>3</sup>. This Thēra probably belonged to the **Dhammaruci Nikāya**<sup>4</sup>, whose members residing in the Abhayagiri-vihāra are so highly praised in lines 8 to 12. The edifice **Ruvan-maha-pahā** (P. *Ratana-mahā-pāsāda*), referred to in line 8, was evidently the one which king Kaniṭṭha-Tissa (229-247 A.D.) built at the Abhayagiri-vihāra for Mahānāga Thēra of Bhūtārāma<sup>5</sup>. Mahinda II (838-858 A.D.) rebuilt it at a cost of three hundred thousand pieces of gold, and made it an exceedingly beautiful palace with several floors<sup>6</sup>. For its maintenance Mahinda III (863-867 A.D.) dedicated

<sup>1</sup> See line 38.

<sup>2</sup> *Mv.* liv. 12-16.

<sup>3</sup> l. c. 35.

<sup>4</sup> The *Nikāyasaṅgraha* gives the following account of the origin of this Buddhist sect:— 'Now it happened that the high priest Tissa, who had received the Abhayagiri-vihāra [from king Vaṭṭa-Gāmaṇī Abhaya 28-16 B.C.], but was living at Kemgalla, was credited by general repute with living in domestic intercourse. Thereupon the pious priests of the Mahā-vihāra assembled, and were interdicting him, when one of his pupils who was among the assembly, by name Mahadāliyā-Tissa (P. *Mahādāhika Tissa*), obstructed them, saying, "Do not act thus by our High Priest." The priests then held the obstructor guilty of mixing in misconduct, and expelled him the Order.

'He then, burning with resentment, left with about five hundred priests, and breaking from the Thēriya Nikāya [i.e. the orthodox sect], went and lived at Abhayagiri-vihāra. There came to him the disciples of Dharmaruci Ācārya of Vajjiputta Nikāya before mentioned, who had found their way into this country from Pallārāma of Daṁbadiva (India); and he accepting their doctrines joined them and settled down under the title of Dharmaruci Ācārya. From that time those belonging to the Abhayagiri were known as the Dharmaruci Nikāya. Thus a Nikāya called Dharmaruci, of a body of men separated from the Thēriya Nikāya, was established in Bhagiri-vehera [the Abhayagiri-vihāra], in the fifteenth year of the reign of Vaḷagam Abhā (Vaṭṭa-Gāmaṇī Abhaya) and 454 years after the death of Buddha' (C. M. Fernando's English translation, pp. 11-12). The history of the sect is continued in the succeeding pages of the *Nikāyasaṅgraha*. See also Rhys Davids on 'the Sects of the Buddhists' (*J. R. A. S.* 1891, pp. 409-422).

<sup>5</sup> *Mv.* xxxvi. 7.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, xlviii. 136.



the water-course called Geṭṭhumba<sup>1</sup>. In the reign of Udaya II (1003-1006 A.D.) it was the scene of a great rising of people against the king and his ministers for violating the right of refuge in the Tapōvana<sup>2</sup>. The rebels ascended the Ratanapāsāda, terrified the king and cut off the heads of the ministers who took part in the unlawful act. We see from our inscription (l. 23) that another building of the same name was in existence in the tenth or early eleventh century A.D., attached to the Mahāmēghavana-mahāvihāra, the headquarters of the orthodox Buddhist sect<sup>3</sup>.

The **Abayaturā-maha-sā** (P. *Abhayuttara-mahā-cētiya*, line 9) was another name for the Abhayagiri Thūpa. King Gajabāhu (177-199 A.D.) had it raised to a greater height, and caused arches (? *ādi-mukha*) to be built at the four gates thereof<sup>4</sup>. Mahānāga (617-620 A.D.) renewed its plaster-work<sup>5</sup>. Sēna III (1006-1015 A.D.) had its ground paved with stones at an expense of forty thousand *kahāpaṇas*<sup>6</sup>, and Parākrama-Bāhu I (1153-1186 A.D.) had it repaired and raised to a height of 140 cubits<sup>7</sup>.

The **Kasub-rad-maha-pahā** (P. *Kassapa-rāja-mahā-pāsāda*, line 15) was most likely the *pāsāda* which Kassapa IV (963-980 A.D.) built at the Abhayagiri-vihāra and called after his own name<sup>8</sup>. It may not be the same as the Kasub-raj-maha-vehera mentioned in the slab-inscription of Kassapa V as one of the temples he built<sup>9</sup>.

The **Udā-Agbo** and the **Mas-toṭu** monasteries (line 16) may be identified with the Udayaggabōdhi-parivēṇa of Aggabōdhi VIII<sup>10</sup> (867-878 A.D.) and the Maccha-tittha-vihāra of Khatṭiya Kassapa<sup>11</sup> (783-789 A.D.). The **Kasub-giri** (line 16) was probably the Kassapa-giri-vihāra to which king Jeṭṭha-Tissa (*circa* 679 A.D.) dedicated the village Ambilāpika<sup>12</sup> and king Hatthadāṭha (715-724 A.D.) the village Sēna<sup>13</sup>. This Vihāra may be the same as the one built by Kassapa I (535-553 A.D.) and mentioned as Isurameṇu-Bo-Upulvan-Kasub-giri-rad-maha-vehera in the Vessagiri inscription<sup>14</sup> of Mahinda IV (1026-1042 A.D.). The *upōsatha* hall **Diyasen** (P. *Jayasēna*, line 17) seems to be one of the later additions to the **Denā-vehera** (P. *Jētavana-vihāra*, line 16) built by Mahāsēna<sup>15</sup> (331-358 A.D.). It should not be confounded with the rock-cut temple *Jayasēna*, which Sēnā, the queen of Dappula II (858-863 A.D.), erected at the *Cētiyapabbata*<sup>16</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Mv.* xlix. 41.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, liii. 17.

<sup>3</sup> See Wijēsīṇha's translation of the *Mahāvamsa*, p. 255, note.

<sup>4</sup> *Mv.* xxxv. 119. See also below, p. 253.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, xli. 95.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, liii. 33.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, lxxviii. 101.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, lii. 13.

<sup>9</sup> See above, p. 51.

<sup>10</sup> *Mv.* xlix. 45. Cf. also

*Udā-Kitaḡbo-pavv*, above, p. 188.

<sup>11</sup> *Mv.* xlviii. 24.

<sup>12</sup> *Mv.* xlv. 98, xlv. 27, and

xlvi. 24.

<sup>13</sup> See above, pp. 29-39.

<sup>14</sup> *Mv.* xxxvii. 33.

<sup>15</sup> *Mv.* xlix. 23-24.



The **Viḷuvana-veher** (line 22), the **Maha-Mevnā-Maha-veher** (line 23), the **Isurmaṇu-veher** (line 27), the **Mirisiviṭi-veher** (line 28), and the **Sihigiri-maha-sā** (line 28) are historical monuments too well known to need drawing attention here. The Pāli forms of these names, as well as of those of other buildings referred to in the record, will be given as foot-notes to the translation.

The stone statue of the Buddha mentioned in lines 9 and 18, was probably the one which king Dēvānampiya Tissa (247–207 B.C.) set up at the Thūpārāma. King Jetṭha-Tissa removed it to Pācīnatissapabbata<sup>1</sup>. King Mahāsēna (331–358 A.D.) removed it from there and set it up at Abhayagiri in an image-house built for it<sup>2</sup>. King Dhātusēna (517–535 A.D.) also erected an edifice with an open hall for it, and ‘caused its eyes to be set with two excellent jewels; also the halo, the crest, and the curled hair to be thickly studded with blue sapphires. He made offerings also of an excellent band of gold, an *uṇṇalōma* ornament (representing the curled hair on the forehead of the Buddha), a golden robe, a network for the feet, a lotus, an excellent lamp, and clothes of divers colours<sup>3</sup>.’

Silāmēghavaṇṇa (670–679 A.D.) in his turn made offerings to the statue, renewed its old house, adorned it with divers gems, and dedicated to it the Kōlavāpi tank. He gave also to it all manner of protection, and always held the festivals connected with it with great pomp<sup>4</sup>. Saṅghā, the queen of Sēna II (917–952 A.D.), ‘made a crest of blue (*nīla-cūḷāmaṇi*) for it, and offered daily offerings to it with all marks of honour<sup>5</sup>.’

The stone statue of Mahinda Thēra (line 14) was probably the one set up by king Dhātusēna at the place where the Thēra’s body was cremated, close by the Mahāthūpa in Anurādhapura<sup>6</sup>. About a century or so later, in the reign of Aggabōdhi I, there existed a statue of Mahinda Thēra on the bund of Mahindataṭa-vāpi at Mihintale<sup>7</sup>, but this might have been another one.

In bringing out the following edition of this important record I have utilized four ink-impressions and a good eye-copy supplied by the Archaeological Commissioner. When collating them I often found one estampage remedied the defects of another. But for this fact, it would not have been possible to produce a satisfactory reading of that portion of the text where the letters are not clear.

I have also to acknowledge my indebtedness to Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka for the valuable help he so readily rendered me in the task.

<sup>1</sup> *Mv.* xxxvi. 128–129.

<sup>2</sup> *Mv.* xxxvii. 14.

<sup>3</sup> *Mv.* xxxviii. 61–64. See also Wijēsīṇha’s translation, p. 1, note.

<sup>4</sup> *Mv.* xlv. 68–69.

<sup>5</sup> *Mv.* li. 87.

<sup>6</sup> *Mv.* xx. 42–44 and xxxviii. 58.

<sup>7</sup> *Mv.* xlii. 29.



## TEXT.

- 1 ශ්‍රී සිරිවත් අපිරියත් ගුණමුළුත් උතුරත්ව(෭) මුළු දමිබ්දිවිහි අත් කැත්තුල  
පාමිලිකල ඔකාවස් ර(ජ)
- 2 පරපුරෙන් බව කැත් උසබි **සිරිසත්බෝ අබා** මහරජහට එමැ කුලෙන් සමදැ  
**දෙව්ගොන්** බිසෝ රජ
- 3 න කුසැ උපැදැ ඇපා මහයා සිරි විඤැ පිළිවෙළේ සෙ රදවැ මිණිවුවනෙන් පැහැයු  
සිය මුඤ්නෙන්<sup>1</sup> ලො උතුර බිසෙව්නෙන් බි
- 4 සෙස් වැ තුමා සිරිත් ලක්දිව් පහයා නත් දෙසෙන් රජුත් වටින අසිරි පඩුරෙන්  
දවහ පිරෙන රදගෙ දොරහි දියනාවත් පැ
- 5 රැකුම් සිරිත් සිරි ලකවි යස එළිවු නෙදිනහිරි උද, ඉහිමැ ලක් අමුණුරෙන්  
**දෙමෙළේ** රැජු අඤුර හැරැ ලො එක්ගෙළි කැරැ සොමි
- 6 යෙන් නිසසුරුවැ ගැමුණුරෙන් සසුරුවැ තහවුරුනෙන් මෙරුවැ දෙනෙන් දිනිසුරුවැ  
ගුණව (අවු)රුවැ දසරද්දහමව් නෙවෙ
- 7 ස්වැ තුනුරුවත් රුවනව් මැඤොස්වැ මුනි සස්නව් එක්වහල් වැඔබවැ හැමැ  
සිරිවි සිරිසෙවැ දියව් පිහිටවැ
- 8 පිරිවර් වර් පිරිවෙන් කුලගල්<sup>2</sup> මැඤ්හි **රුවන් මහපහා** රුවන් සුනෙර් නෙවින  
සතර් මුළු සතර් මහදිව්බවන අවටහි මුනි
- 9 ඤ් පිළිබිබි විමත් රුවන්පව් පැහැත් පහයන **අබයතුග් මහසැ** හිමගල් සොබොන  
මහගත් උරක් පෙලව් නුවණි පියා
- 10 (විහි)ද, විසත් ගුරිළු මුළු බමන දහම්දරත් දහම් විසක්හන ගුමත් ගුගුමන  
සත්දනත් රුවන් අරෙන් වොරොදන අපිස් ස
- 11 නොස් සලෙ සැහැ මහණගණ පබ්ල ලිය ඉළේ රඤ්න විහිගුම් පබෙර පවුර් තරන්  
වදඹන මුනිඤ් පුද උදම්මන නත් ඇඳුර(෭)
- 12 පාවත් නිමි නිමිගල් මහ මස් සරන **දහම්රැසි** පවර මුහුඤ් මරැ පුත්තු රක්න  
**මහදැමි** වසුදෙව්තු පර්වාසි .. .. .
- 13 අරබි අනත් යහනක්හි වැඩැ දහම් සිරිවමිය සියො සිරි විඤුන සිරිගෙ සිරි ඉසිලු  
**අබාගිරි වෙහෙරැ** කරවු සැ
- 14 හි රුවන් දිවස් බඤු ගනොළේ නවකම්නෙන් හොබවා පිරිවර් ගෙ (යැ)ළින් කර  
**මිහිඤ්මහ සල්පිළිමෙ** තුල් (දැනි)මිණින් ඇස් නබවා (ර)
- 15 න්මුවා පාද දැල කර පත්තිස්හත් **කසුබ් රද මහපහා** සි(ය)ත් නවකම් කර  
**පුසර්බා පහා** කර මහසන්නව් පස් (පිළියෙ)
- 16 ලිහි බද් **සව බැහිල්හි**<sup>3</sup> මහගල් කර **උද අග්බො මස්නොවු මි(නි) කසුබ්ගිරි**  
නවකම් කර සිරිවත් (**දෙනා**) **වෙහෙර්හ** (මර) .. .. .
- 17 (වි හි)මත්හි මුනිරද්හට පිළිසත් සිරි අල **දියසෙන් මහපොගෙ** යැළින් කර නත්  
දැරුවනින් නෙවිනා රත් මෙර්මෙන් (ද) .. .. .
- 18 කම්නෙන් (හුවා) කල පිත් පෙලෙන් තුමා අන(වි) දුවන රුවන්සක්මෙ(ත්)

<sup>1</sup> 'සිය මුඤ්නෙන්' දෙවෙනි ලෙඛනයෙහි 5 වෙනිපෙළේ (232 වෙනිපිටබලනු)

<sup>2</sup> 'කුලගල්' විසසුතුයි

<sup>3</sup> 'යවබැහිල්දත්' සිදු කියවිය හැකියි



- හිරි මඩුලු කරු උදාහරි හිස්හි තෙවනා රිපි බි(මබ්) [මෙන් මුනිඤ්  
පිළිබි]
- 19 මබ් මුඤ්ඤත් රත් සහිත් රඤ්චා නමා සිසු දිවි පියොදුනු පළ තෙද් රඤ් සිරිත් සිසු  
කන් ගෙම්මුවා කොතුර් වැමබිත් ම .. .. .
- 20 සද, සිද්දහබ් කන්මුවා කරු හුදිත්පත් සැපැත්මෙන් මහ විරියෙන් සෙන්(වතුසෙ)  
කසුබ් රද් පිටිවෙන් සත් .. .. .
- 21 ලිත් කළ බොසත් සිතක්සෙසින් මණ්මෙවුලා මහපහා කරනුයෙහි සනිවහන්වු  
මිනිමහරද්හ න(ව) .. .. .
- 22 කරු විච්චන වෙහෙර්හි පහා යැලිත් කරු නිල්පහාහි බොසත් පිළිබිබ් කන්මුවා  
කරු (හැමැ) .. .. .
- 23 (ප්‍රි) පෙළ්හි බද් සකුර්හල් කරු මහමෙව්නා මහවෙහෙර්හි රුවන්(පහාහි) නමබු  
නමා) .. .. . න් එක්(සෙ) .. .. .
- 24 දියවමබ්මෙන් දදවමබ් හුවා මිනිහිර්දෙව්හු පිළිබිබ්බඤ් හිරිමබ්ලෙන් (සි) .. ..  
මුහුණ් .. .. .
- 25 න් සිසුසහරුවන්මෙන් ගෙම්මුවා කොතුර් වැමබිත් සිසු කන් සද, දලපුලන්තෙන්<sup>1</sup>  
සිසු බුදුන් (පිළිබිබ්) .. .. . [සි]
- 26 රි ඉසිලු අපුණ් මහසල පිළිමෙ දැරත් මණිත් ඇස් තබවා නමා ඇපා සිරි වි(ඤ්)  
වුසු මිහි .. .. .
- 27 බැ මහරද්හ අඩාලා කළ හුලිගම පිටිවෙන් කරු ඉසුර්මණුවෙහෙර් මහපහා  
කරු (මහසැ) .. .. .
- 28 න් සුලබ්වනු වටි මාගහල් කරු මිසිසිපිටිවෙහෙර්හි වෙහෙර්හිමි සිහිහිටිමහ(සැහි)  
.. .. . [ම]
- 29 නි මහරද්හ ලියවන ලද්ද් දහමසහුණ් (ද)කරබු කන්මුවා කරු (කැරැ) රුවන්  
දහබ් (යැලිත්) .. .. .
- 30 (හි) අනුරපුර වුවන් සැපු සිල්මණිමෙන් මුනිරද්හ වර දලදකරබු කරු සතුර්  
ස(හර) .. .. .
- 31 සුපිරැ මහනැව් හවියෙන් දැගෙ කරු නමා කළතා විසිතුර් පින් රැස් රැස්  
කරු (නු) .. .. .
- 32 සුපිමාලා මහපෙළ් කරු යැලිත් මෙහෙණි මහපෙළ් කරු නිමිට් හිලන්  
පුතක්හු දුටු .. .. .
- 33 මා මුල්නැත් වෙද්හල් කරු අසරණ මෙහෙණිගණා මෙහෙණිවර් නවකම්  
කරු (හෙ) .. .. .
- 34 .. උණ්ලොමදරුවනට් මඤ්ඤාස් බඤ්ඤ රක්සැගෙ කරු හැමැ<sup>2</sup> මහතුමබ්  
නව[කම්කරු] .. .. .
- 35 (බු)ළ්<sup>3</sup> අතු(ලා) වෙහෙර්හි සුවන් මුවා නමා ප(ලහි) මුනිඤ් පිළිබිබ් කරු ස .. .. .  
.. .. .
- 36 ලකළ සහ වුවනැ නමා බරණින් තුලා අස් අරු කිරු දන් (හෙය) .. .. .  
.. .. .

<sup>1</sup> 'දලපුලන්තෙන්' සිද්ධ කියවිය හැකිසි

<sup>2</sup> 'සැමැ' සිද්ධ කියවිය හැකිසි

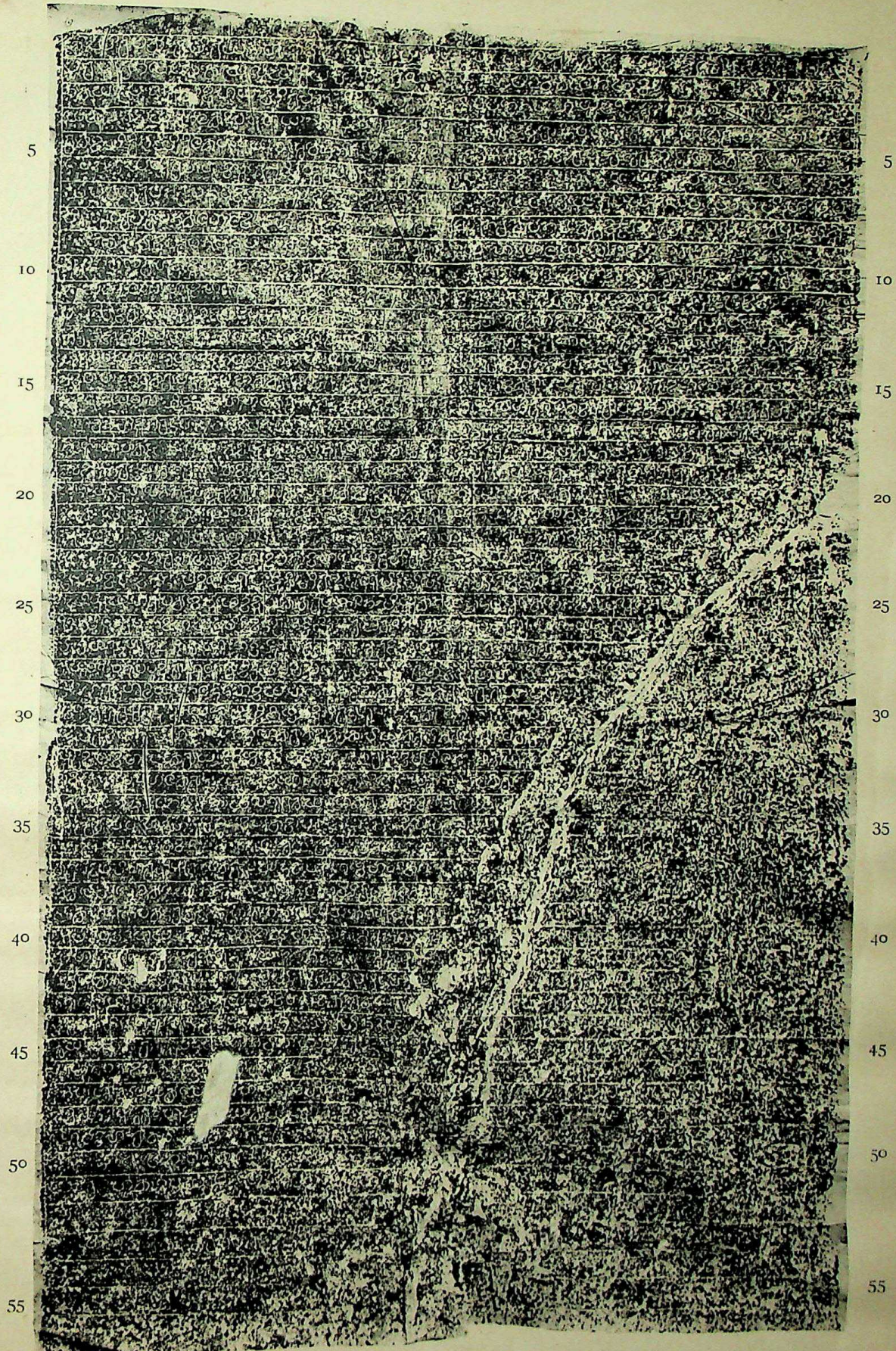
<sup>3</sup> 'සුල්' සිද්ධ කියවිය හැකිසි



- 37 කර් බ්මි මහර්ති සුත් සතර් සස් දත් (සද)හා මහබ්ක්සන්තට් .. .. .  
 .. .. . [නො]
- 38 එක්වෙස් නො එක්දෙසින් ආ නො එක්දනහට් සිරි ලක එක්රත් කරු .. .. .  
 .. .. .
- 39 ණි කහවුන්වත් දැරැ නිළිත් වහරෙනෙන් ලොස් සැනැහු පිරිසුද් .. .. .  
 .. .. .
- 40 සු පිළිපත් මහසන්හි .. වු නමා සහ වුවනා නිරිඤ් බ .. .. .  
 .. .. .
- 41 සහ වුවනා නිරිඤ් අමබරණින් සැදු දත් දී (නොය)ත් පුත්(ණ) .. .. .  
 .. .. .
- 42 (ව)ත් සුත්තට් උවසර් (වි)සුත්තට් සන්රු දහමට් පුද සි .. .. .  
 .. .. .
- 43 නි නුවණ් හැමැ මනා හැමැ කුසල් නමහට් එක් අත්සරු (ක)ළ [සිපි  
 සන්]බො අබා මහරජ්තු සන් ලැහැ .. .. . [නව්]
- 44 රුද්දයෙහි පොසොනැ පුර දසපක් දවසැ මිහිඤ් මහ (හි) .. .. .  
 .. .. .
- 45 දු සසුන් කරු දළ් සදහැයෙන් පිනා පහන් නුවණින් .. .. .  
 .. .. .
- 46 සන්තට් තමන් නිළිත් මහ රික්හි ගත් (පෙලයැවිය) .. .. .  
 .. .. .
- 47 (ලෙ)ත් පැහු කෙලෙසක්සෙසින් හැම(කල්හි නො හැ) .. .. .  
 .. .. .
- 48 (මෙකි)යන් බුදුරද්තු දහමිසැක්(හි පහන්) .. .. .  
 .. .. .
- 49 මහල් මහ ඇතුපිටිහි තබා නුවර් පැද[කුණ් කරවා] .. .. .  
 .. .. .
- 50 (ව)නු ලදි මනො වාක් .. .. .  
 .. .. .
- 51 සසු මහනාමි පස්සලො .. .. .  
 .. .. .
- 52 ණාමි මනො නු .. හා .. .. .  
 .. .. .
- 53 ල සි .. කාමිකා .. .. . තථ .. .. .  
 .. .. .
- 54 .. .. . පාලො සා .. .. .  
 .. .. .
- 55 .. ක .. .. . ඩ .. .. .  
 .. .. .



Jētavanārāma Slab-Inscription  
(No. 1) of Mahinda IV



*From an ink-impression supplied by the Archaeological Commissioner, Ceylon.*

*Scale about  $\frac{1}{8}$  inches to 1 foot.*







## TRANSCRIPT.

- 1 Śrī siri-vat apiriyat guṇa-muḷin uturat-v(ā) muḷu Damb-divhi an Kāt-kula  
pāmili-kaḷa Okā-vas ra(j)-
- 2 parapuren baṭ Kāt-usab **Siri Saṅgbo Abā** maha-raj-haṭ emā kulen sama-dā  
**Dev Gon** biso-rāj-
- 3 -na kusā upādā āpā mahayā siri vindā piḷiveḷ-se rada-vā miṇi-vuṭnen pāhāyū  
siya mundnen<sup>1</sup> lo-uturā-bisevnen bi-
- 4 -ses-vā tumā sirin Lak-div pahayā nan desen radun vaṭṇa asiri paṇḍuren  
davaha pirena rad-ge-dorhi diya-nāvan-pā-
- 5 -rākum-sirin siri-Lakaṭ yasa eḷvū tedin hir-udā-ihimā Lak-amburen **Demel-**  
rupu-andur hārā lo ek-heḷi-kārā somi-
- 6 -yen nisayur-vā gāmburen sayur-vā tahavurnen mer-vā denen dinisur-vā  
guṇaṭ (avu)r-vā dasa-rad-dahamaṭ neve-
- 7 -s-vā Tunu-ruvan-ruvanaṭ mändos-vā Muni-sasnaṭ ek-vahal-ṭāmba-vā hāmā-  
siriṭ siri-se-vā diyaṭ pihiṭa-vā
- 8 pirivar var piriven kula<sup>2</sup>-gal mänd-hi **Ruvan-maha-pahā** ruvan-Suner tevna  
satar muḷ satar maha-div-bavana avaṭahi Muni-
- 9 -nd-piḷibib-viman ruvan-pav-pāhān pahayana **Abayaturā-maha-sā** hima-gal  
sobona maha-gat urak pelaṭ nuvaṇ piyā
- 10 (vihi)-dā viyat guriḷ-muḷ bamana daham-daran daham-viyak-hana-guman  
gugumana sat-danan ruvan-āren vorodana apis sa-
- 11 -tos sale Sāhā-mahaṇa-gaṇa pabla liya iḷ randna vihiḡum paṇḍera pavur  
taraṅg vadambana munind puda udammaṇa nan ādur(u)-
- 12 pāvan Timi Timiṅgul maha-mas sarana **Dahamrusi** pavara muhund maru-  
put-hu rakna **Maha-dāmi** Vasudevhu parvāḍ .. .. .
- 13 arab Anat yahanak-hi vāḍā daham siri-vamiya siyo siri vinduta Siri-ge siri  
isilu **Abāgiri-veherā** karavū sā-
- 14 -hi ruvan-divak bandu ganoḷ nava-kammen hobavā pirivar-ge (yā)ḷin karā  
**Mihind-maha-sal-piḷime** tul (dāti)-miṇin ās tabavā (ra-)
- 15 -n-muvā pāda-dāla karā pan-tis hat **Kasub-rad-maha-pahā** si(ya)n nava-kam  
karā **Pusarbā-pahā** karā maha-saṅgnaṭ pas (piḷiye-)
- 16 -ḷhi bad **Yāṭabāhilhi**<sup>3</sup> maha-hal karā **Udā-Agbo Mas-toṭu Mi(ti)-Kasub-giri**  
nava-kam karā sirivat (**Denā**)-veherhi (mara) .. ..
- 17 (-ṭ gi)manhi Muni-rad-haṭ pilisat siri aḷa **Diyasen-maha-po-ge** yāḷin karā  
nan dā-ruvanin tevnā ran-Mer-men (da) .. .. .

<sup>1</sup> *Mundne* in slab No. 2, line 5 (below, p. 234).<sup>2</sup> Read *kuḷa-gal*.<sup>3</sup> This can also be read *yāṭa bāhil dan*.




- 18 kamnen (huvā) kaḷa pin-pelen tumā ata(t) duvana ruvan-sakme(n) hiri-  
maṇḍulu karā Udāgiri-hishi tevnā rivi-bi(mb)-[men Munind-piḷibi-]
- 19 -mb mundun ran-satin randvā tamā siyu div piyodunu paḷa ted rāndi sirin  
siyu kan hem-muvā kotur-ṭāmbin ma . . . . .
- 20 sadā **Sid-dāgab** kan-muvā karā hudin-pat sāpātmen maha viriyen sen(vatuse)  
**Kasub-rad-piriven** saṅg . . . . .
- 21 -ḷin kaḷa Bo-sat sitak-seyin **Minimevulā-maha-pahā** karanuyehi saniṭ-hanvū  
miti maharad-hu na(va) . . . . .
- 22 karā **Viḷuvana-veherhi** pahā yālin karā **Nilpahāhi** Bosat-piḷibib kan-muvā  
karā (hāmā) . . . . .
- 23 (-ḷi) peḷhi bad sakur-hal karā **Maha-Mevnā-Maha-veherhi** Ruvan-(pahāhi  
tambu tamā) . . . . . n ek(se) . . . . .
- 24 diya-ṭamb-men dada-ṭamb huvā miti-hir-devhu piḷibib baṇḍu hir maṇḍlen  
(si) . . . . . muḥuṇ . . . . .
- 25 -n siyu-saṅgarā-vat-men hem-muvā kotur-ṭāmbin siyu kan sadā dalavulat-  
nen<sup>1</sup> siyu Budun-(piḷibib) . . . . . [si-]
- 26 -ri isilū apuṇ Maha-sala-piḷime dāraṅg-miṇin ās tabavā tamā āpā siri vi(ndā)  
vusū Mihi . . . . .
- 27 bā maha-rad-hu aḍāḷā kaḷa **Huligam-piriven** karā **Isurmaṇu-veher-maha-**  
**pahā** karā (**Maha-sā**) . . . . .
- 28 -t sulab-vanuvaṭ **Mārā-hal** karā **Mirisiviṭi-veherhi** veher-himi **Sihigiri-**  
**maha-(sāhi)** . . . . . [mi-]
- 29 -ti maharad-hu liyavana-lad **Daham-saṅguṇ** (dā)-karaṇḍu kan-muvā karā  
(kāru) **Ruvan-dāgab** (yālin) . . . . .
- 30 (-hi) **Anurāpura** vuṭun sādu siḷ-miṇi-men muni-rad-hu vara **Daḷadā-karaṇḍu**  
karā **Sutur-sa(ṅgarā)** . . . . .
- 31 supīru maha-nāv haviyen dāge karā tamā kaḷa-tā visitur pin-rās rās-karā  
(nu) . . . . .
- 32 **Purimālā-maha-peḷ** karā yālin meheṇi-maha-peḷ karā nimav gilān putak-  
hu duṭa . . . . .
- 33 mā muṭtān ved-hal karā asaraṇa meheṇi-gaṇā meheṇivar nava-kam karā  
(he-) . . . . .
- 34 .. **Uṇ-lom-dā-ruvanaṭ** mandos bandu **Rak-sā-ge** karā hāmā<sup>2</sup> maha-tumba  
nava-[kam karā] . . . . .

<sup>1</sup> This can also be read *dalapulaten*.


<sup>2</sup> This can also be read *sāmā*.



- 35 -(bu)!<sup>1</sup> **Atulā-veherhi** suvan-muvā tamā pa(laṅgi) Munind-piḷibib karā sa  
 .. .. .  
 36 lakaḷa saha vuṭunā tamā baraṇin tulā ag arā kirā dan (heya) .. .. .  
 .. .. .  
 37 **Kir-bimb-viharhi** yut satar sas dat (sada)hā maha-bik-saṅgaṭ .. .. .  
 .. .. . [no-]  
 38 -ek-ves no-ek-desin ā no-ek-dana-haṭ siri Laka ek-raṅg karā .. .. .  
 .. .. .  
 39 -ṇi kahavun-vat dārā tiḷiṇ vaharenen loy sänähū pirisud .. .. .  
 .. .. .  
 40 su-piḷipan maha-saṅg-hi .. vū tamā saha vu(t)nā nirind ba .. .. .  
 .. .. .  
 41 saha vuṭnā nirind ambaraṇin sādū dan dī (teya)n puhu(ṇ) .. .. .  
 .. .. .  
 42 (va)t yutnaṭ uvasar (vi)yutnaṭ saṅgrā dahamaṭ puda si .. .. .  
 .. .. .  
 43 -ti nuvaṇ hāmā manā hāmā kusāl tamahaṭ ek atsaru (kaḷ)la [**Siri-**  
**Saṅg**]bo **Abā** maharaj-hu sat lāṅgū .. .. . [hav-]  
 44 -ruduyehi Posonā pura dasa-pak davasā **Mihind** maha (hi-) .. .. .  
 .. .. .  
 45 -dū sasun karā daḷ sadahāyen pinā pahan nuvaṇin .. .. .  
 .. .. .  
 46 saṅgaṭ taman tiḷin maha rik-hi gāt (pelayā-viya) .. .. .  
 .. .. .  
 47 (-ḷe)n pähū kelesak-seyin hāma(-kalhi no hä-) .. .. .  
 .. .. .  
 48 (meki-)yan Budu-rad-hu **Daham-sāk**-(hi pahan) .. .. .  
 .. .. .  
 49 maṅgul maha ātu-piṭ-hi tabā nuvar pāda[kuṇ karavā] .. .. .  
 .. .. .  
 50 (-va)nu ladi  mano vāk .. .. .  
 .. .. .  
 51 -ssu mahatām passallo .. .. .  
 .. .. .

<sup>1</sup> This can also be read *sūḷ*.



- 52 -ṇām  tu .. hā .. .. .
- 53 -la si .. kāmikā .. .. . ttha .. .. .
- 54 .. .. . pālo sā .. .. .
- 55 .. ka .. .. . ṇḍa .. .. .

## TRANSLATION.

[Lines 1-5.] Hail! The great king [Siri Saṅg]bo Abā<sup>1</sup> was born<sup>2</sup> unto the great king Siri Saṅgbo Abā, the Kṣatriya Lord, descended from the royal line of the Okkāka dynasty, which abounds in a multitude of boundless<sup>3</sup> and benignant virtues, and which has [thereby] caused other Kṣatriya dynasties of the whole of Daṁbadiya to render hōmage<sup>4</sup>, [he was born] in the womb

<sup>1</sup> See line 43.

<sup>2</sup> *Upādā*, 'having been born,' same as *ipādā*, above, p. 91, and *ipājā*, below, p. 234, the gerund of *upadinavā* (Skt. *ud + √pad*).

<sup>3</sup> *Sirivat apiriyat guṇa-mulīn uturatvā*. In the following inscription (No. 2) of this king, as well as in later ones such as the Devanagala record of Parākrama Bāhu I (*A. S. C. Report on the Kegalla District*, p. 75), and the Daṁbulla rock-inscription of Kīrti Niśsaṅka Malla (above, p. 130), we find the words *lov* or *lo ikut* inserted between *apiriyat* and *guṇa*. This makes it clear that *apiriyat* and *lo ikut* are two attributes of *guṇa-mulīn*.

The translation of this phrase at p. 132 should be amended accordingly. As regards *sirivat*, we are not sure whether it qualifies *guṇa* or *Okāvas*.

<sup>4</sup> *Pāmili* is the same as *piyamili* in the following inscription (p. 234, below). Both point phonetically to a Sanskrit original *pādamūlika* or *-mūlika*. In the phrase *an-Kāt-kula pā-mili kaḷa Okā-vas-raj-parapuren* the past passive participle *kaḷa* (Skt. *kṛta*) is used in an active sense, governing *an-Kāt-kula* (Skt. *anya-Kṣatriya-kulāni*) and *pā-mili* (Skt. *pāda-mūlikāni*) in the accusative case. Instances of the active use of the past passive participle of certain verbs are to be found in Sanskrit also. See Kāle's *Higher Sanskrit Grammar*, pars. 705 and 900, and Apte's *Sanskrit Composition*, par. 152. In Tamil the relative participle of the past tense, which is really equivalent to the past passive participle of Sanskrit, can have an object in the accusative as well as a subject in the nominative, e.g. *kāṭṭilē ceyda vēlai*, the work (which was) done in the wood; *nāṇ ceyda vēlai*, the work I did; *vēlai ceyda paiyan*, the boy who did the work. Sinhalese grammarians on the other hand would consider the subject or agent as a noun in the instrumental case and the object as one in the accusative, e.g. *mā kaḷa vāḍa*, the work done by me, and *vāḍa kaḷa daruvā*, the child who did the work. Possibly just as the preterite stem of Sinhalese verbs is derived from the Sanskrit passive participle, so the endings *ṭ* (*d*), *ṭṭ* (*tt*) or *ṭṭ* (*nt* (*nd*)), and *ṭṭ* (*in*) of the preterite stem of Tamil verbs may have some connexion with the Sanskrit endings *ta* and *na* of the past passive participle.



of the anointed queen<sup>1</sup> **Dev Gon**, of equal birth and descent<sup>2</sup>. After enjoying the dignities of governor and chief-governor<sup>3</sup>, he in due course became king, and was anointed on his head, resplendent with the bejewelled crown, with the unction of world supremacy. With his glory he illumined the Island of Laṅkā; with the prowess of victorious lords<sup>4</sup>, displayed in the precincts<sup>5</sup> of the Palace constantly filled with the wonderful presents offered by kings of various lands, he brought glory upon prosperous Laṅkā. With [the rise of] his majestic power he drove away from Laṅkā the Dravidian foe, just as the rising sun dispels darkness from the sky<sup>6</sup>, and sheds lustre upon the world.

[Lines 5-7.] In gentleness he was like the moon, in depth [of character] the ocean, in firmness the mount Mēru, in wealth the Lord of Riches (Kubēra); he was a mine of good qualities, an abode of the ten kingly virtues<sup>7</sup>, a jewel casket for the 'Triple Gem,' the supporting pillar for the religion of the Sage, the goddess<sup>8</sup> Śrī for every prosperity, and the mainstay of the world<sup>9</sup>.

[Lines 8-13.] The **Abāgiri Vēhera**<sup>10</sup>, which displays the grace of the abode of Śrī at the moment when **Mahādāmi**<sup>11</sup> residing in . . . Ārāma [experiences the joy of association] with the Dharma, just as Vāsudēva enjoys the bliss

<sup>1</sup> *Biso-rājna*, same as *bisev-rājna*. See above, p. 49, note 7, and p. 78.

<sup>2</sup> *Emā kulen sama-dā*. Cf. *eme kulen sama-jāy*, above, p. 91.

<sup>3</sup> *Āpā mahayā*. See above, pp. 26, note 4, 98, note 5, and 187, note 6.

<sup>4</sup> *Diya-nāvan*, the plural oblique stem of *diyanā*. This word can be equivalent to Skt. (1) *jāgan-nātha* or *-nāga*, 'world-lord,' an epithet of the Buddha (or the Bōdhisattva as in *Kāvyaśekhara*, vi. 54), also of Viṣṇu or Kṛṣṇa; (2) *jaya-nātha* or *-nāga* or *-nāyaka*, 'lord of victory;' (3) *udaka-nātha*, 'lord of water;' and (4) *udake snātvā*, 'having bathed in the water.' Cf. *Kāvyaśekhara*, iii. 46:—

*Ahas-gaṅga Yamunā  
ekvū tānehi sobanā  
Payāgaya diya nā  
gīman sūnahī kumarū diyanā.*

'The world-lord (*diya-nā*) prince having bathed in the waters (*diya nā*) of the beautiful Payāga (Skt. *Prayāga*, modern Allāhābād) at the confluence of the Ganges (*Ahas-gaṅga*, Skt. *Ākāśa-gaṅgā*) and *Yamunā*, assuaged the heat (of his journey).'

<sup>5</sup> *Rad-ge-dorhi* = P. *rāja-geha-dvāramhi*, 'at the gate of the Palace.'

<sup>6</sup> In this and in the following passages the metaphors of the text have been converted into similes for the sake of clearness.

<sup>7</sup> See above, p. 181, note 7.

<sup>8</sup> The comparison of a king to a goddess is unusual.

<sup>9</sup> For a similar string of comparisons, see the Devanagala inscription of Parākrama Bāhu I (*A. S. C. Report on the Kegalla District*, p. 75).

<sup>10</sup> P. *Abhayagiri Vihāra*, see line 13.

<sup>11</sup> P. *Mahādhammī* or *-dhammika*.



of union with Śrīkāntā on the couch of [the serpent] Ananta<sup>1</sup>; in which (Vihāra) there rises in splendour the **Ruvan-maha-pahā**<sup>2</sup> surrounded by the noble Parivēṇas, like unto the golden Mēru<sup>3</sup> centred by the Kuṣa-gal<sup>4</sup>; where around [the residences of] the four fraternities is shed the effulgence of the shrine of the image of the Lord of Sages<sup>5</sup>, like the lustre of the Ruvan-pav<sup>6</sup> around the abodes of the four regent gods; where dwell bands of scholars directing their wisdom to great literary works and adorning the **Abayaturā-maha-sā**<sup>7</sup>, just as a flight of *garuḍas* hovers with widespread wing over rows of serpents on the Himālayan range; which resounds with the voice of those versed in the scriptures<sup>8</sup>, expounding the Dharma; which is adorned by virtuous men as by mines of gems; where flourish like unto an assemblage of coral tendrils numbers of *Śākya śramaṇas* (Buddhist monks) endowed with the virtues of temperance, contentment, and religious austerity<sup>9</sup>; whose broad and white ramparts rise aloft like the waves (of the ocean); which waxes with the offerings to the Lord of Sages<sup>5</sup>; where frequent various teachers of eminence, as the great fishes *Timi* and *Timiṅgala*<sup>10</sup> [gambol in the sea]; and over which [Abhayagiri-vihāra] presides the Head of the *Dhammaruci* [fraternity], just as the sea-god [over the sea].

[Lines 14-20.] Of the *cētiya* built [in this Vihāra] his Majesty renewed the brickwork and made it shine like a golden islet<sup>11</sup>; he rebuilt the edifices

<sup>1</sup> This seems, according to the Indian myth, to refer to a time after the churning of the ocean when the goddess Śrī rose from the waves, and not to the interval of creation during which Viṣṇu sleeps on the serpent Śēṣa or Ananta.

<sup>2</sup> P. *Ratana-Mahā-pāsāda*, 'the great Ratanapāsāda.' See line 8.

<sup>3</sup> *Ruvan-suner* = P. *Ratana-Sunēru*. In Sinhalese *ruvan* means 'gem' as well as 'gold.' See below, p. 238, note 1. For an account of the golden Mēru mountain, see *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, ii. 2, and Wilson's notes to his translation.

<sup>4</sup> The seven concentric circles of rocks (*sapta-kūṣa-parvata*) in Hindu cosmology. For an account of the universe derived from Buddhist works, see Hardy's *Manual of Buddhism*. For illustrations, see Bastian's *Die Welt in ihren Spiegelungen unter dem Wandel des Völkergedankes*.

<sup>5</sup> i. e. the Buddha. *Munind-piṭṭib-viman* = Skt. *munindra-pratibimba-vimāna*.

<sup>6</sup> *Ruvan-pav* = P. *Ratana-pabbata*, the *Ratna-sānu* or *Mēru* mountain. Cf. *Ruvan-giri* in *Kāvya-śekhara*, viii. 40.

<sup>7</sup> P. *Abhayuttara-mahā-cētiya*. See *Mv.* xxxv. 119, li. 86.

<sup>8</sup> *Dahamdara* = P. *dhama-dhara*.

<sup>9</sup> See above, p. 188, notes 12-14.

<sup>10</sup> *Timi*, *Timinda*, *Timiṅgala*, *Timirapiṅgala*, *Mahā-Timi*, *Ānanda*, and *Ajjhārōha* are the names of certain mythical fishes of enormous size haunting the oceans between the seven concentric circles of mountains (*Kūṣa-pabbatas*) which surround mount Mēru. See Hardy's *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 13. See also *Mahāsutasōma-jātaka* (Fausböll, No. 537).

<sup>11</sup> *Ruvan-diva* = P. *ratana-dīpa*, 'a jewel-island' (Skt. *ratna-dvīpa*), or 'a jewel-lamp' (*ratna-dīpa*).



surrounding it, set the eyes of the great stone statue of Mahinda<sup>1</sup> with large brilliant rubies, and made a network of gold for the feet. He repaired the roof, thirty-five cubits [in length], of **Kasub-rad-maha-pahā**<sup>2</sup> (the great edifice of king Kasub), built the monument **Pusarbā-pahā**, erected the great alms-hall at **Yatābāhila**, which was set apart for providing the requisites for the great community of monks, and repaired the **Udā-Agbo**<sup>3</sup>, **Mastoṭu**<sup>4</sup> **Mi(ti)-Kasub-giri**<sup>5</sup> [Vihāras]. He built anew the great *upōsatha* hall [named] **Diya-sen**<sup>6</sup>, which displayed the grace of *pīlisat*<sup>7</sup> to the Lord of Sages in summer . . . in the beautiful **Denā-vehera**<sup>8</sup>. [Like] the golden Mēru shining with gems of various kinds . . . he raised . . . with . . . work. He made an orb of the sun like unto a wheel of gems<sup>9</sup>, which rolls to his hands as the fruit of his meritorious work. With a golden parasol<sup>10</sup> like the orb of the sun shining on the Orient Mount, he adorned the head of the image [of the Lord of Sages], and with golden capital-topped<sup>11</sup> pillars at the four corners, which displayed the splendour of his majesty widespread over the four continents, he made . . .

[Lines 20–25.] He gilded the **Sid-dāgab** (white<sup>12</sup> *dāgaba*). Like wealth acquired by virtuous men and as . . . with great exertion, the community of monks of the **Kasub-rad-piriven**<sup>13</sup> . . .

By the great king, his grandfather who had decided upon the building of the great monument **Minimevulā-maha-pahā**<sup>14</sup>, like the determination of a Bōdhisatta, repairs were [effected] . . . He rebuilt the *pāsāda* at the **Viluvana-**

<sup>1</sup> The great Thera Mahinda, son of Asōka.

<sup>2</sup> *Kasub-rad-maha-pahā* = P. *Kassapa-rāja-mahā-pāsāda*. Cf. *Kasub-raj-maha-veher*, above, p. 51.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Udā-Kilagbo-pavu*, above, p. 188.

<sup>4</sup> P. *Maccha-tittha* (*Mv.* xviii. 24).

<sup>5</sup> P. *Kassapa-giri*, above, p. 31.

<sup>6</sup> P. *Jaya-sēna*, above, p. 82.

<sup>7</sup> I do not know the meaning of this word. Taken as *pīli-sat*, it can, however, mean 'a silk umbrella.' Skt. *paṭṭa-chatra*.

<sup>8</sup> P. *Jētavana-vihāra*.

<sup>9</sup> *Ruvan-sak* = P. *ratana-cakka*, 'wheel of gems.'

<sup>10</sup> *Ran-satin* = P. *hirañña-challēna*.

<sup>11</sup> *Kotur-ṭāmba*; *ṭāmba* = Pkt. *thambha* and *ṭhambha*, Skt. *stambha*. I do not know the exact meaning of the architectural term *kotur*. It occurs in the *Kāvyaśekhara*, viii. 18, as follows:—

*Nava miṇi ṭām koturu  
dāva pēkaḍin piyakaru  
liya-mal-kam soṇḍuru  
maḍuva sārāsū sudam-saba-yuru.*

<sup>12</sup> *Sid-dāgab* = Skt. *śvīta-dhātu-garbha*. This may also be equivalent to P. *citta-dhātu-gabbha*.

<sup>13</sup> *Kasub-rad-piriven* = P. *Kassapa-rāja-parivēṇa*.

<sup>14</sup> P. *Maṇimēkhalā-mahā-pāsāda* (*Mv.* li. 77).



vehera<sup>1</sup>; he gilded the statue of the Bōdhisatta in the Nil-pahā<sup>2</sup>; all . . . he erected the guest-hall attached to the . . .; [he . . .] the bronze (work) in the Ruvan-pahā<sup>3</sup> of the Mahamevna-maha-vehera<sup>4</sup>; he set up flag-posts like columns of victory; . . . faces (adorned with) solar orbs which were like unto the reflection of the sun-god Mitra. He adorned the four corners with golden capital-topped pillars like the four cardinal attributes of royalty, and . . . the statues of the four Buddhas with *dalavulatna*<sup>5</sup>.

[Lines 26–30.] He caused to be set with rubies<sup>6</sup> the eyes of the incomplete colossal statue in stone [of the Buddha], which displayed the grace of . . . He completed the Huligam-piriven, which had been half finished by the great king, his brother, [and is situated at] Mihi . . ., where he had resided enjoying the dignity of governor (*āpā*). He built a great edifice (*mahā-pāsāda*) at Isurmaṇu-veher<sup>7</sup>, and erected the Mārā hall for the abundant supply of . . . at the Maha-sā<sup>8</sup>. The warden of the monastery at Mirisiviṭṭi-veher<sup>9</sup> . . . at Sihigiri-maha-(sā)<sup>10</sup>. He gilded the relic casket for the (book) Daham-saṅgun<sup>11</sup> which the great king, his grandfather, had caused to be written . . . The Ruvan-āgāb<sup>12</sup> . . . He made a noble casket for the tooth relic of the King of Sages<sup>13</sup>, like unto the crest jewel on the crown of Anurāpura<sup>14</sup> . . . Sutursa-(ṅgarā)<sup>15</sup> . . .

[Lines 31–35.] He built a relic-house like unto a big ship well filled with . . . and heaping up the manifold and diverse meritorious deeds he had performed . . . He established the great alms-hall<sup>16</sup> Purimālā, and also the great alms-hall<sup>16</sup> for the nuns. Whenever a motherless sick child is seen . . . He established kitchens and medical halls, and repaired the nunneries belonging to communities of helpless nuns . . . He built the Rak-sā-ge<sup>17</sup> like unto

<sup>1</sup> P. *Vḷuvana-vihāra*, built by Aggabōdhi II and dedicated to the Sāgali Order (*Mv.* xlii. 43).

<sup>2</sup> P. *Nīla-pāsāda*. Cf. *Nīlageha-paricchada* (*Mv.* xlii. 39).

<sup>3</sup> P. *Ratana-pāsāda*.

<sup>4</sup> P. *Mahāmēghavana-mahā-vihāra*, the Headquarters of the orthodox Buddhist sect in Ceylon.

<sup>5</sup> I cannot make out the meaning of this word.

<sup>6</sup> *Dāraṅ-miṇi* = Skt. *jāli-raṅga-maṇi*.

<sup>7</sup> P. *Issarasamaṇaka Vihāra*. See above, pp. 12, 31, 60, note 1, and p. 68.

<sup>8</sup> P. *Mahācēṭiya*, the Ruvanvāli-dāgaba.

<sup>9</sup> P. *Maricavāṭṭi-vihāra*. See above, p. 51, note 3.

<sup>10</sup> P. *Sihagiri-mahā-cēṭiya*.

<sup>11</sup> P. *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*, a book of the Abhidhamma Piṭaka of the Buddhist canon. See Müller's edition of 1885 in P.T.S. and Mrs. Rhys Davids' translation, 1900.

<sup>12</sup> Probably *Ruvanvāli-dāgaba*.

<sup>13</sup> *Muni-rad*, an epithet of the Buddha, like *Munind* (*munindra*).

<sup>14</sup> Skt. *Sūtra-saṅgraha*, P. *Sutta-saṅgaha*.

<sup>15</sup> P. *Ārakkha-cēṭiya-gēha*.

<sup>14</sup> i.e. Anurādhapura.

<sup>16</sup> *Mahapeḷ* = P. *mahāpāli*.



a casket for the jewel of the **Urṇa**<sup>1</sup> hair relic, and repaired all the great stūpas . . . In the **Atulā Vihāra** he made a golden image of the Lord of Sages of his own size . . .

[Lines 36-45.] Wearing the insignia (of royalty), including the beautiful crown, he mounted the scale pans and weighed himself and the bridge (?) of alms . . . to the great community of pious mendicants in the **Kir-bimb-vehera**<sup>2</sup>, who are well versed in the four (noble) truths<sup>3</sup> . . . He made the prosperous Laṅkā a common ground for various peoples of various appearances who came from diverse countries . . . The holy (ones) who, wearing the saffron-coloured robes, satisfied the world with showers of bountifulness . . . In the well-conducted community of monks . . . the king with his crown . . . Having given [to the priesthood] gifts composed of royal ornaments including the crown (he promoted charity) . . . Kindly services to those engaged in religious observances, patronage to the learned, offerings to the Dharma . . . He made all wisdom and all good deeds his own treasure. In the . . . year after this great king [**Siri-Saṅg**]bo **Abā** [who has done all these acts] raised the ṇānā of dominion, on the tenth day of the waxing moon in the month of *Poson* (May-June), the chief of the monks, **Mahinda**, . . . filled with great faith in the Buddhist religion . . . and [endowed] with clear intelligence . . .

[Lines 46-49.] Like the fruits which the great tree of his [i.e. the king's] liberality bore to the Saṅgha . . . Like a passion burnt out of his heart he always . . . pleased with the **Daham-sāk**<sup>4</sup> of the Lord Buddha . . . he placed (it) on the back of the state-elephant and caused (it) to be taken round the city<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Ur-lom-dā-ruvāna* = P. *Urṇa-lōma-dhātu-ratana*. See *Mv.* xlii. 62.

<sup>2</sup> P. *Khīra-bimba-vihāra*.

<sup>3</sup> *Satar-sas* = P. *calussacca*.

<sup>4</sup> P. *Dhamma-cakka*, probably a copy of the *Dhammacakkappavattana-sutta*.

<sup>5</sup> The text beyond this is in verse, and, with the exception of a letter here and there, is illegible.



No. 20. JĒTAVANĀRĀMA SLAB-INSCRIPTION (No. 2) OF  
MAHINDA IV (*circa* 1026-1042 A. D.)

THIS slab lies close by No. 1 described above. The inscription which it contains is engraved in sixty lines on the side prepared for the purpose, and covers an area of 8 ft. by 3 ft. 3 in., of which the middle portion is now so much worn and damaged that a considerable part of the text from lines 6 to 39 is illegible, as may be seen from the accompanying facsimile (Plate 29).

The **script** and the size of the letters are similar to those in No. 1. In **orthography**, too, one would expect a complete uniformity, for the two records are more or less like the first and second sections of a single charter in respect of the Abhayagiri-vihāra. But this is not the case. We find quite a number of variant spellings. Compare, for example, *Damb-div*, *pāmili*, *sama-dū*, *upādā*, *āpā*, *mahayā*, and *rad* in the first slab with *Jamb-div*, *piyamili sama-jāy*, *ipājā*, *ayi-paya*, *maha-paya*, and *raj* in the present one.

The style of the **language** in the two slabs is practically the same, though the second is not so rich in figures of speech as the first. Both begin alike, and in both the same words and phrases occur<sup>1</sup>.

The **contents** of our record deal principally with the regulations which Mahinda IV instituted at the Abhayagiri-vihāra soon after completing the reparation of the dāgaba and other buildings attached to the monastery. These rules are similar in character to those in his Mihintale tablet A, and in the Jētavanārāma Sanskrit inscription, as well as in the slab-record of Kassapa V near the 'stone canopy'. They afford ample proof of the care which this king bestowed on the proper administration of monasteries.

Touching the stone statue of the Buddha (*maha-sala-piḷima*) mentioned in line 45, I have gathered in a former page (217) most of the historical references found in the *Mahāvamsa*. I now wish to draw attention to the possibility that this image might have been the same as the one which the Chinese pilgrim Fâ-hien saw at the Abhayagiri-vihāra when he visited Ceylon in the fifth century A. D.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. lines 1-6, 14-16, with lines 1-5 of No. 1.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 6-9, 49-57, and 98-113.

<sup>3</sup> Fâ-hien's account runs:—'By the side of the tope he [i.e. the king of Ceylon] further built a monastery called the Abhayagiri, where there are (now) five thousand monks. There is in it a hall



The introductory portion of the record (lines 1-19) gives a short account of Mahinda himself and his charitable works. As shown above (p. 213), his father bore two *birudas*, namely, Siri Saṅghabōdhi Abhaya and Abhaya Silāmēghavaṇṇa. In the first slab he is referred to by the former title and in the present one by the latter.

The date is given in lines 19 and 20, but the text here is so much damaged that the reading of the regnal year, eight, is doubtful. The name and the day of the lunar month are quite obliterated. So, too, is the first portion of the name of the king. But on comparing the subject-matter of the slab No. 1, described above, with that of the present slab, which we call No. 2 for purposes of identification, it will be apparent that the first forms as it were an introduction to the second. Both deal with the **Abhayagiri-vihāra**. The first confines itself to an eulogistic account of Mahinda IV, a poetic description of the Abhayagiri Monastery and a general survey of the charitable acts he performed and of the religious monuments he built or repaired. All this may be taken as introductory to what follows in the second slab, namely, the repairs he effected at the monastery in question and the rules which he instituted for its good government. Even if we regard the two records as unconnected with each other, still there is sufficient evidence, both in their phraseology and in their contents, to infer that the second inscription, that is the one now under discussion, must have been promulgated soon after the first, namely, about the end of the eighth year after the coronation of Mahinda IV (1034 A.D.?).

In deciphering this record, I have had before me four ink-estampages and an eye-copy supplied by the Archaeological Commissioner. But for this ample supply of material I would not have been able to make out so much of the damaged text as I have done below.

---

of Buddha adorned with carved and inlaid work of gold and silver, and rich in the seven precious substances, in which there is an image (of Buddha) in green jade, more than twenty cubits in height, glittering all over with those substances, and having an appearance of solemn dignity which words cannot express. In the palm of the right hand there is a priceless pearl. Several years had now elapsed since Fā-hien left the land of Han; the men with whom he had been in intercourse had all been of regions strange to him . . . Suddenly (one day), when by the side of this image of jade, he saw a merchant presenting as his offering a fan of white silk; and the tears of sorrow involuntarily filled his eyes and fell down.' Legge's Translation of *The Travels of Fā-hien*, pp. 102-103.



## TEXT.

- 1 (ශ්‍රී) සිරිවත් අපිරියන් ලොව් ඉකුත් ගුණමුලින් උතුරත්වැ මුළු ජමබ්දිවිහි අ  
 2 ත් කැත්තුල පියමිලි කළ ඔකාවස්ථරප්පරපුරෙන් බවි කැත් උසබ් අබස්  
 3 සලලෙපන මහරජහව් එමෙ කුලෙන් සමජය් දෙව් ගොන් බිසො රැජන කුසා ඉ  
 4 පැජැ අධිපය මහපය සිරි විකු පිළිවෙළුසෙ රජවැ මිණිවුටිනෙන් පැහැයු සි  
 5 ය මුණ්නෙ ලොව් උතුරා බිසෙවිනෙන් බිසෙස්වැ යසස් තෙරින් දස අත්හි පැහැර  
 6 තුමා සිරිත් ලක්දිව් පහයා .. .. යැ තුන් මහසලපිළිම බුදු  
 7 ත් නන් රුවන් විහි .. ගන [කුළු] .. .. ඉසුසැවිලෙසින් සතීන් සජය්  
 8 .. .. මහ .. .. ගුණපය  
 9 .. .. (රුවන්සත්මහපෙර) .. .. දූවෙහෙරව් ලකර්  
 10 මහල පි  
 11 දිවෙන් (කරය) .. .. වි .. .. විහිගුම් දැගෙ නත්වය් බවු  
 12 ණු .. .. කොට් බද් ගන්කඩ බණ්ඩ  
 13 ය නව්(බුන්) .. .. (පැ)වැත්වු දියෙන්  
 14 ගෙළදිවැ දුබ්  
 15 ක් [නිවය] .. .. [දන්]වතුරෙන්  
 16 ලෙවන් උපුල්වය  
 17 .. .. (දෙය) .. .. (මහණ කරය) ජමබ්දිවිහි (නන් රජු)ත් වටින අසිරි  
 18 පසුරෙ  
 19 ත් දවහ පිරෙන රජගෙදෙර්හි දියනාවන් පැරැකුම්සිරිත් සිරි ලකට යස  
 20 එළුවු තුනුරුවනව් පුජ අ(ජ)ර .. .. (වටින සත්)නව් (හි)වුර් විසත්නව්  
 21 (සගරා සියනව් නුගරා) .. .. නුව .. වි සව් සත්නව් කු  
 22 ලුණුවන් සබැවජනුවනව් .. .. කොට් .. .. තෙජ් සනහන සොම් ඉගිමැ  
 23 .. .. (තව්)ම් .. .. [සිරිසත්බො] අබස් මහරජු  
 24 තුමා සත්  
 25 ලැහැ (අව්වන) හවුරුදුසෙ(හි) .. .. (ස) .. ස පක් දවස්  
 26 අබහස්  
 27 ගිසි සැහි .. .. කරය් (තු)ත්  
 28 සරවනෙන්  
 29 (සිරි) .. .. පවත්නා කොට්  
 30 තුබු සිරිති  
 31 අබහස්ගිසිවෙහෙර (අව) .. .. [අතුළු] බැහැර ගණසතු පුහුල්  
 32 සතු ලා  
 33 (හයෙහි) ඉසා සත්වත් හිමි .. .. අවසැ බද් (ග)ම් බිම් කවරපරියායෙ  
 34 ත් .. .. ඉසා .. .. (ස) කොට් නො වළඳුවනු ඉසා  
 35 පෙරෙ නො පැ



- 26 .. .. . (නක සති) .. .. . ටි .. .. . ඉසා  
දුනුවන් දෙස්
- 27 (යවනු ඉසා) .. .. . (ගම් බිම් අවසව) .. .. වත්වා දෙනු ඉ
- 28 සා මෙ .. .. . සැ ගිහිමිනිස්වැ නො වළඳනු  
ඉසා ම
- 29 .. .. . මි .. රක්නාවුන් ගි[හි]මිනිසුන් ගස්
- 30 .. .. . ඉසා (ගිමිසුරන්) .. .. . (ස)සුන් පමණින් පොවොරණ  
කරනු ඉ
- 31 සා පොවොරණ ලන් .. .. . අවසැ  
සන්නවි
- 32 .. .. . (ගි) වැසැ වළඳනු කොටි .. .. . ඉසා (ලාභ) පිළි(පසි)ත්<sup>1</sup> මිසැ  
ලාභයෙහි
- 33 .. .. . (ගම් බිම්) .. .. . නො පිළි(පසි)නු<sup>2</sup> ඉසා ගම් බිම් .. .. . (රළු ක)රන් වැඩ  
ලාභයක්
- 34 .. .. . (නො කරනු) ඉසා (ල) .. (ස)පයා අනුසස් නො ගන්නා ඉසා ලාභ
- 35 .. .. . නිසි .. .. . (ක)රන් මිසැ දසකැරැ නො  
දෙනු ඉ
- 36 සා මෙ වෙහෙර් බ(ද) .. .. . නො දෙ[නු] ඉ[සා]  
දුනුවන් දෙස් ය
- 37 වනු ඉසා ගනුවන් නො ගිමි වනු ඉසා බ(ද)ව(ස) .. .. . ගිබද(ව) .. .. . ගිඤැ  
වළඳ
- 38 නු මිසැ මුල් අවස්ගි ගිඤැ නො වළඳනු ඉ[සා] .. .. . (ග්) වන අවසැ මිසැ  
සුතු තු
- 39 .. .. . ලාභයෙහි වසනු ඉසා .. .. . [කළ] වරජක් ඇත නිසි
- 40 යන් (ගිඤැ දඩිකම්) කරන් මිසැ ලාභ රදෙල්කො[ටි නො] ගන්නා ඉසා කම්  
නවාමැ බ
- 41 (ද් ගම්) කඩැපිඩැ නො බැඤැ කම්නවාම් කරවනු [ඉසා] කම්නවාමැ බද්  
ගම් නැති
- 42 (සැඤැ) පෙරෙ සිරිත් කඩිපිඩින් ඉතිරි ගෙනැ කම්නවාම් කරවනු ඉසා කඩිපිඩි
- 43 න් ඉතිරිවනු (නැත<sup>3</sup>) කඩැ බද් අඩින් භාගයක් (ගෙ)නැ කම්නවාම් කරවනු ඉසා
- 44 මෙසෙ නො කළ ගිමියන් අවසින් පිටන් කරනු ඉසා මෙ (ගක) .. .. .  
වෙහෙර්ගි ඉ
- 45 සා (මහ) සලළිමගෙහි ඉසා රුවන්පහාහි ඉසා අබසතු(ගමහසැ)සෙහි ඉසා
- 46 .. .. . බොගෙහි ඉසා සැගිවිහි ඉසා (නැවැගිවි)සෙහි<sup>4</sup> ඉසා .. .. . (න්)  
කම්නවා

<sup>1</sup> 'පිළිවැසින්' සිද්ධ කියවිය හැකිසි

<sup>2</sup> 'පිළිවැසිනු' සිද්ධ කියවිය හැකිසි

<sup>3</sup> 'දැහි' සිද්ධ කියවිය හැකිසි

<sup>4</sup> 'නාවෙහෙරයෙහි' සිද්ධ කියවිය හැකිසි



- 47 මින් ඉතිරි ගරුබඩ කොට නබන් මිසැ ගතු ගැහි නො දෙනු ඉසා මෙනුවාක්  
නැන්හි
- 48 අයකලසෙ ඉසා විසකලසෙ ඉසා දස්නට නිමි දුන්සෙ ඉසා දසකැරු දුන් සෙ
- 49 ඉසා හවුරුදුපනා සාවසැ සතුන් පිඩි කො[ටි] .. .. මැ .. .. කැමි වෙහෙර  
කැමියන්
- 50 ලෙකම් අස්වනු ඉසා මෙහි උපන් විවාදය[ක් ඇත] .. .. (භායෙ) <sup>1</sup> සම්දරුවන්  
හිඤා
- 51 විවාද ගරුනා කොට මෙ නුබුනාක් සිරිත් අත් .. .. කුලදැනිය  
කැරු සිරි
- 52 ල(ක්හි) නො බොසන්හු නො රජවන්හයි සැහැකුල කොත් සවැනියමුනිරජ්හු ..
- 53 .. (විශාරණ) ලද්ද නුමා පස් සිවුර් රක්(නුව)ස් මහසන්හු පිළිවැසූ රජ්සි
- 54 රි පැමිණැ සැණැ බිසෙවි විඤ්න (ද)වස් මහ[ස]ත්හට මෙහෙයවි උවසර්වස්
- 55 (සෙවෙල්) බඤ්න අප පරපුරෙන් (බස්න) බුද් බැහි කැන්ටසබ්නවිසින් (නිර)
- 56 (තුර් ඇදුර්) ඇනියාවැනු රැකියැ සුතු නුගහල් කඩි මැඤා ජල්න කප්පල් ක
- 57 (ලම්බ) බඤු (ළ)වහඤා පැහිරෙන් <sup>2</sup> සොර කෙනෙකුනු (තුළ) නො සිඤා දොහො  
අත්හි බද් නු
- 58 හුසුඩු පැලැ නො සිඤ්න පැමැණි අණුසාප්අවද්හි බියදසුවැ පෙවෙන් දැහැප්
- 59 සසුන් මෙ රක්න සිකකැමි මහණ සලෙ අවජන් ඇහි දහම් මන් නො ඉක්මෙ
- 60 න දහම්දැසි ඇපුරොලෙහි මහසන්හුවිසිනුප් මෙ සිරිත් වැටියැ සුතු

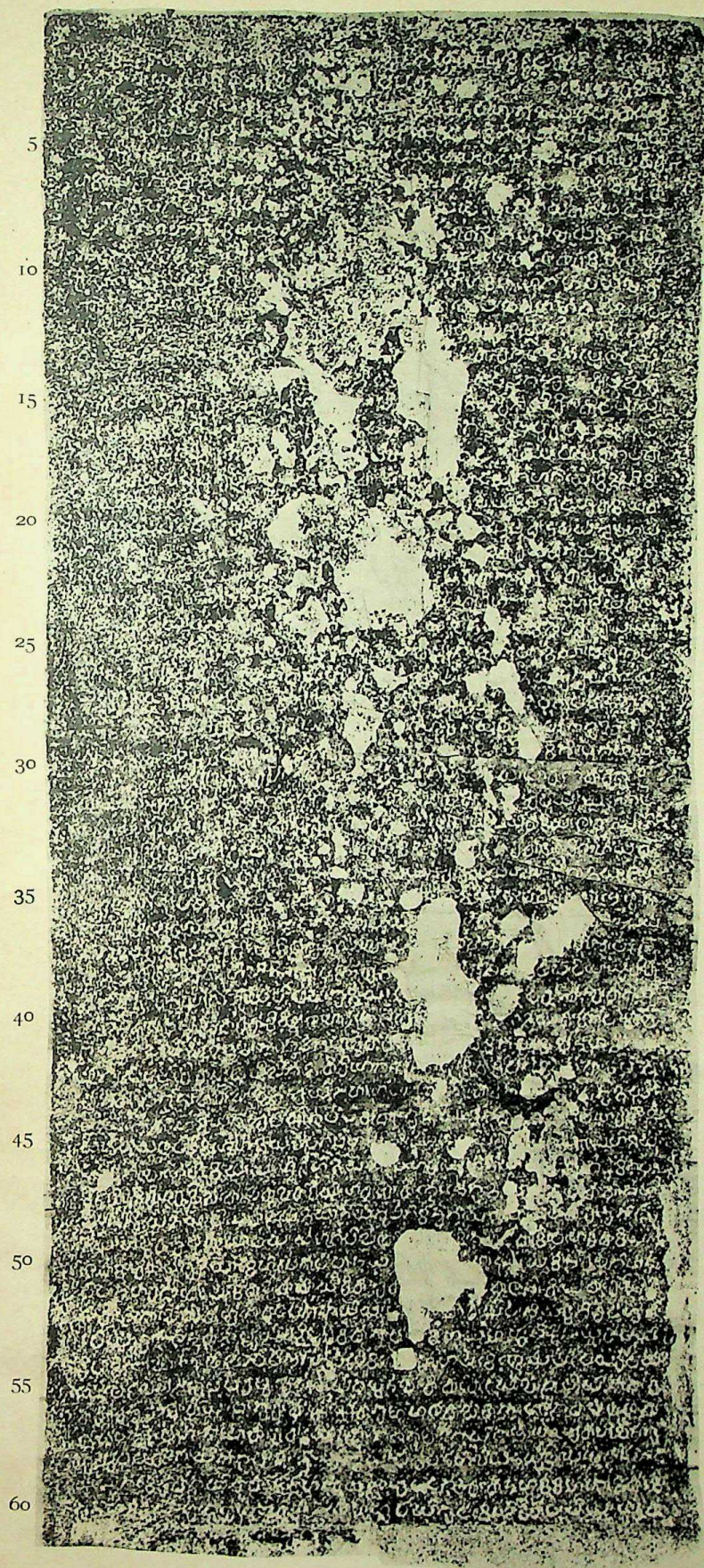
## TRANSCRIPT.

- 1 (Śrī) siri-vat apiriyat lov ikut guṇa-muḥin uturat-vā muḥu Jamb-divhi a-  
2 -n Kāt-kula piya-milī kaḷa Okāvas-raj-parapuren baṭ, Kāt-usab **Abay**  
3 **Salamevan** maharaj-haṭ eme kulen sama-jāy **Dev Gon** biso rājna kusā i-  
4 -pājā ayi-paya maha-paya siri vindā pīḷi-veḷ-se raj-vā miṇi-vuṭṭnen pāhāyū si-  
5 -ya mundne lov uturā bisevnen bisesvā yasaṣ tejīn dasa at-hi pātirā  
6 tumā sirin Lak-div pahayā .. .. -yā tun maha-sala-pīḷima-  
Budū-  
7 -n nan ruvan vihi- .. gana [kuḷu] .. .. indu-sāv-lesin satin sajay  
8 .. .. maha .. .. -gut Bud piriboy  
miṇi-pay  
9 .. .. (ruvan-sat-maha-pera) .. .. -dū-veheraṭ lakar  
**Maṅgul-pi-**

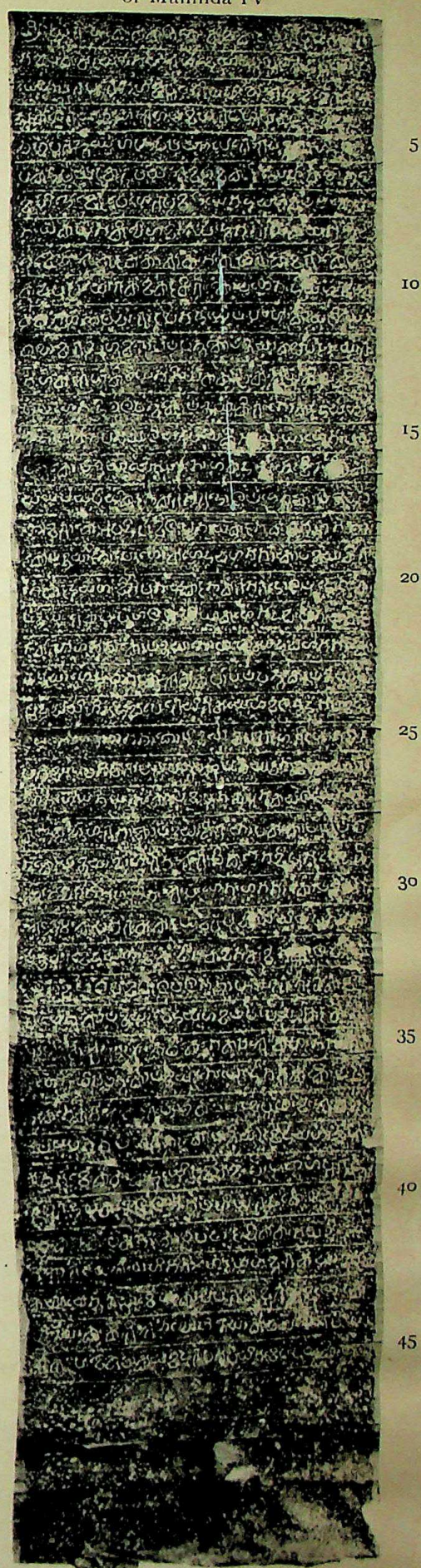
<sup>1</sup> 'භායෙ' සිදු කියවිය හැකිසි

<sup>2</sup> 'වැහිරෙන්' සිදු කියවිය හැකිසි





Scale about  $1\frac{1}{6}$  inches to 1 foot.



Scale about 14 inches to 1 foot.



- 47 මින් ඉතිරි ගරුබඩ කොට නබන් මිසැ ගතු ගැනි නො දෙනු ඉසා මෙනුවාක්  
නැන්හි
- 48 අයකලසෙ ඉසා විසකලසෙ ඉසා දස්නට නිමි දුන්සෙ ඉසා දසකැරු දුන් සෙ
- 49 ඉසා හවුරුදුපනා සාවසැ සතුන් පිබි කො[ටි] .. .. මැ .. .. කැමි වෙහෙර  
කැමියන්
- 50 ලෙකම් අස්වනු ඉසා මෙහි උපන් විවාදය[ක් ඇත] .. .. (භායෙ) <sup>1</sup> සම්දරුවන්  
හිඤා
- 51 විවාද ගරුනා කොට මෙ නුබුනාක් සිරිත් අත් .. .. කුලදැනිය  
කැරු සිරි
- 52 ල(ක්හි) නො බොසන්න නො රජවන්හයි සැහැකුල කොත් සවැනියමුනිරජ්හ ..
- 53 .. (විශාරණ) ලද්ද නුමා පස් සිවුර් රක්(නුව)ස් මහසන්න පිළිවැසු රජ්සි
- 54 රි පැමිණැ සැණැ බිසෙව් විඤ්න (ද)වස් මහ[ස]න්නට මෙහෙයව් උවසර්වස්
- 55 (සෙවෙල්) බඤ්න අප පරපුරෙන් (බස්න) බුද් බැහි කැන්ටසබ්නවිසින් (නිර)
- 56 (තුර් ඇදුර්) ඇනියාවැනු රැකියැ සුතු නුගහල් කඩි මැඤා ජල්න කප්පල් ක
- 57 (ලම්බ) බඤු (ළ)වහඤා පැනිරෙන් <sup>2</sup> සොර කෙනෙකුනු (තුල්) නො සිඤා දොහො  
අත්හි බද් නු
- 58 හුසුඩු පැලැ නො සිඤ්න පැමැණි අණුසාප්අවද්හි බියදසුවැ පෙවෙන් දැහැල්
- 59 සසුන් මෙ රක්න සිකකැමි මහණ සලෙ අවජන් ඇහි දහම් මත් නො ඉක්මෙ
- 60 න දහම්දැසි ඇපුරොලෙහි මහසන්නවිසිනුප් මෙ සිරිත් වැටියැ සුතු

## TRANSCRIPT.

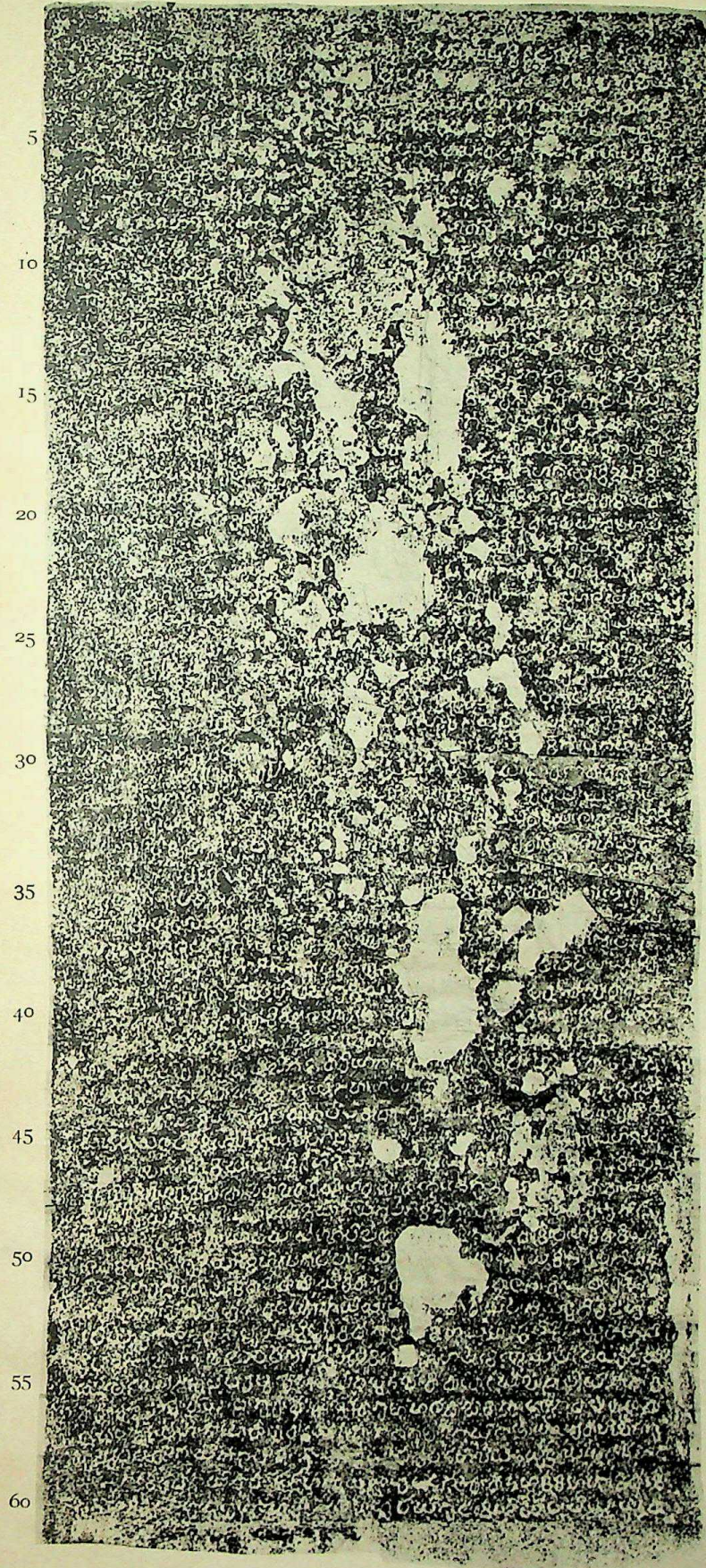
- 1 (Śrī) siri-vat apiriyat lov ikut guṇa-muḥin uturat-vā muḥu Jamb-divhi a-  
2 -n Kāt-kula piya-mili kaḷa Okāvas-raj-parapuren baṭ, Kāt-usab Abay  
3 Salamevan maharaj-haṭ eme kulen sama-jāy Dev Gon biso rājna kusā i-  
4 -pājā ayi-paya maha-paya siri vindā piḷi-veḷ-se raj-vā miṇi-vuṭṭnen pāhāyū si-  
5 -ya mundne lov uturā bisevnen bisesvā yasa tejīn dasa at-hi pātirā  
6 tumā sirin Lak-div pahayā .. .. -yā tun maha-sala-piḷima-  
Budū-  
7 -n nan ruvan vihi- .. gana [kuḷu] .. .. indu-sāv-lesin satin sajay  
8 .. .. maha .. .. -gut Bud piriboy  
miṇi-pay  
9 .. .. (ruvan-sat-maha-pera) .. .. -dū-veheraṭ lakar  
Maṅgul-pi-

<sup>1</sup> 'භායෙ' සිදු කියවිය හැකියි

<sup>2</sup> 'වැනිරෙන්' සිදු කියවිය හැකියි

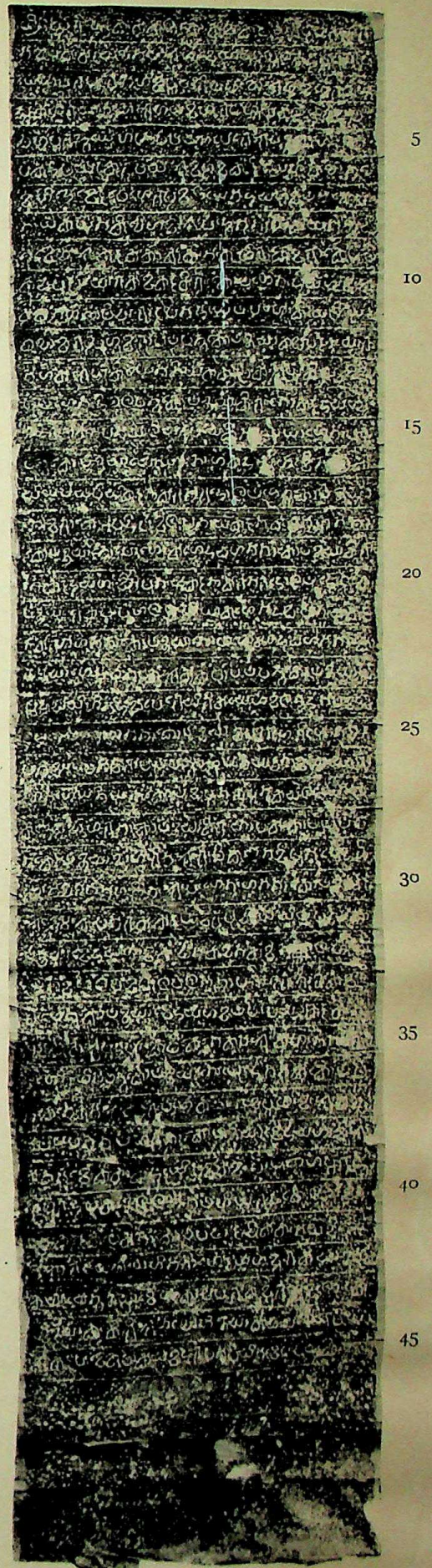


Jētavanārāma Slab-Inscription  
(No. 2) of Mahinda IV



Scale about  $1\frac{1}{16}$  inches to 1 foot.

Vēvālkātiya Slab-Inscription  
of Mahinda IV



Scale about 14 inches to 1 foot.

From ink-impressions supplied by the Archaeological Commissioner, Ceylon.







- 10 -riven (karay) .. .. ʈ .. .. .. vihgum dā-ge naṅvay  
Bamu-
- 11 -ṇu .. .. .. koṭ bad gaṅg-kaḍ band-va-
- 12 -y naṭ(bun) .. .. .. (pā)vāt-vū diyen  
Heḷ-divā dubi-
- 13 -k [nivay] .. .. .. [dan]-vaturen levan  
upulvay
- 14 .. .. (deya) .. .. .. (mahaṇa karay) Jamb-divhi (nan radu)n vaṭna  
asiri paṇḍure-
- 15 -n davaha pirena raj-ge-dorhi diya-nāvan pārākum-sirin siri Lakāṭa yasa
- 16 eḷvū tunu-ruvanaṭ puja a(ja)ra .. .. .. (vaṭna-saṅg)-naṭ (hi)vur viyatnaṭ
- 17 (saṅgarā siyanaṭa-nugarā) .. .. .. nuva .. -ṭ sav  
satnaṭ ku-
- 18 -luṇu-vat sabā-vajanuvanaṭ .. .. .. koṭ .. .. .. tej sanahana somi ihmā
- 19 .. .. .. (taṭ)mi .. .. .. [Siri Saṅg-bo] Abay maharaj-hu  
tumā sat
- 20 lāṅgū (aṭ-vana) havuruduye(hi) .. .. .. (sa) .. -sa pak  
davas Abahay-
- 21 -giri-sāhi .. .. .. karay (tu)n saravanen
- 22 (sir) .. .. .. pavatnā koṭ tubū  
siriti
- 23 Abahaygiri-veherā (ava) .. .. .. [ātuḷ] bāhāri gaṇa-satu pugul-  
satu lā-
- 24 (-bhayehi) isā saṅg-vat-himi .. .. .. avasā bad (ga)m bim kavari-  
pariyāye-
- 25 -n .. .. .. isā .. .. .. (sa) koṭ no vaḷand-vanu isā pere  
no pā-
- 26 .. .. .. (naka saṅgi) .. .. .. ʈ .. .. .. isā  
dunuvan des
- 27 (yavanu isā) .. .. .. (gam bim avasaṭ) .. .. vatvā denu i-
- 28 sā me .. .. .. -sā gihi-minis-vā no vaḷandanu  
isā ma-
- 29 .. .. .. mi .. raknā-mut gi[hi]-minisun gas <sup>1</sup>
- 30 .. .. .. isā (himisuran) .. .. .. (sa)sun pamaṇin povoraṇa  
karanu i-

<sup>1</sup> This clause probably runs *gas-kol no kapaṇu isā*. See above, p. 93, line 50.



- 31 -sā povoraṇa lat .. .. . avasā saṅgaṭ  
 32 .. .. . (-hi) vāsā vaḷandanu koṭ .. .. . isā (lābha) piḷi(pasi)t<sup>1</sup> misā  
 lābhayehi  
 33 .. .. (gam bim) .. .. no piḷi(pasi)nu<sup>1</sup> isā gam bim .. .. (-raḷi ka)rat vāḍi  
 lābhayak  
 34 .. .. . (no karanu) isā (la-) .. (sa)payā anusas no gannā isā lābha  
 35 .. .. . nisi .. .. . (ka)rat misā dasakārā no  
 denu i-  
 36 -sā me veher ba(d) .. .. . no de[nu] i[sā dunu]van  
 des ya-  
 37 -vanu isā gatuvan no himi vanu isā ba(d-a)va(sa) .. .. . -hi bada(va) .. .. .  
 hindā vaḷanda-  
 38 -nu misā mul-avas-hi hindā no vaḷandanu i[sā] .. .. . (-ṅg) vana avasā viyā  
 yutu tu-  
 39 .. .. . lābhayehi vasanu isā .. .. . [kaḷa] varajak  
 āta nisi-  
 40 -yan (hindā daṇḍ-kam) karat misā lābha radol-ko[t no] gannā isā kam-  
 navāmā ba-  
 41 (-d gam) kaṇḍā-piṇḍā no bāndā kam-navām karavanu [isā] kam-navāmā bad  
 gam nāti  
 42 (sāndā) pere sirit kaṇḍ-piṇḍin itiri genā kam-navām kara-vanu isā kaṇḍ-  
 piṇḍi-  
 43 -n itiri-vanu (nāta)<sup>2</sup> kaṇḍā bad ayin bhāgayak (ge)nā kam-navām karavanu isā  
 44 mese no kaḷa himiyan avasin piṭat karanu isā me (Naka) .. .. .  
 -veherhi i-  
 45 -sā (Maha)-sala-piḷima-gehi isā Ruvan-pahāhi isā Abayatu(rā-maha-sā-)  
 -yehi isā  
 46 .. .. . Bo-gehi isā Sā-girihi isā (Nāṭā-giri)yehi<sup>3</sup> isā .. .. . (-n)  
 kam-navā-  
 47 -min itiri garu-baṇḍ koṭ tabat misā gatu gāti no denu isā metuvāk tānhi  
 48 aya-kaḷa-se isā viya-kaḷa-se isā dasaṇṇ nimi dun-se isā dasa-kārā dun-se  
 49 isā havurudu-patā sāvasā saṅgun piṇḍ ko[t] .. .. . mā ., .. . kāmī veher-  
 kāmīyan

<sup>1</sup> *Piḷi-vāyil* and *piḷivāyinu* may be suggested as alternative readings. See below, line 53.

<sup>2</sup> This can also be read 'dāhi'.

<sup>3</sup> This can also be read 'Nā-veherayehi'.



- 50 lekam asvanu isā mehi upan vivādaya[k āta] .. .. (-bhāye)<sup>1</sup> samdaruvan  
hindā
- 51 vivāda harnā koṭ me tubūtāk sirit at .. .. kulādātiya kārā siri
- 52 La(k-hi) no bosat-hu no raj-vanhayi Sāhā-kula kot Savāniya-muni-raj-hu ..
- 53 .. (viyāraṇ) lad tumā pay sivur rak(nu-va)s maha-saṅg-hu piḷivāyū raj-si-
- 54 -ri pāminā sāṇā bisev vindna (da)vas maha-[sa]ṅg-haṭ meheyaṭ uvasar-vas
- 55 (sevel) bandna apa parapuren (basna) Bud bāti Kāt-usabna-visin (nira)-
- 56 (-tur ādur) ātiyā-vānu rākiyā yutu **Nuṅgahal-kaṇḍ** mändā jalna kap-jal ka-
- 57 (-lamb) bandu (la)vahandā pätiret<sup>2</sup> sora kenekunu (tu!) no sindā doho-at-hi  
bad nu-
- 58 -husu-vū pālā no sindna pāmāṇi aṇu-sāj-avad-hi biya-dasu-vā pevet dāhāj
- 59 sasun me rakna sika-kāmi mahaṇa sale avajan āti daham maṅg no ikme-
- 60 -na daham-dāsi ājurolehi maha-saṅg-hu-visin-uj me sirit vāṭiyā yutu

TRANSLATION.

[Lines 1-6] Hail! The great king [**Siri Saṅgbo**] **Abay**<sup>3</sup> was born<sup>4</sup> unto the great king **Abay Salamēvan**, the Kṣatriya lord, descended from the royal line of the Okkāka dynasty which, abounding in an assemblage of benignant, boundless, and transcendental<sup>5</sup> virtues, has caused other Kṣātriya dynasties of the whole of Jambudvīpa to render it homage<sup>6</sup>: [he was born] in the womb of the anointed queen **Dev Gon** of equal birth and descent<sup>7</sup>. After enjoying the dignities of Governor and Chief Governor<sup>8</sup>, he, in due course, became king and was anointed on his head, resplendent with the bejewelled crown, with the unction of world supremacy. With the effulgence of his fame he filled the ten directions, and with his glory he illumined the Island of Laṅkā.

[Lines 6-14] He adorned the three great stone statues of the Buddha at . . . . . with parasols (diffusing [the glitter of] various gems) like rainbows (on rain clouds) . . . . . the gem-set bowl used by the Buddha . . . . .

<sup>1</sup> This may also be read 'hāye'.

<sup>2</sup> This may also be read 'vātiret'.

<sup>3</sup> See line 19.

<sup>4</sup> *Ipājā*, same as *upādā* in the foregoing record (p. 221).

<sup>5</sup> *Lo ikut*, 'ultra-mundane.' Regarding these adjectives, see above, p. 224, note 3.

<sup>6</sup> *Piyamili*. See above, p. 224, note 4.

<sup>7</sup> *Eme kulen sama-jāy*, see above, p. 225, note 2.

<sup>8</sup> *Ayi-paya maha-paya* = P. *ādi-pāda mahā-pāda*. See above, pp. 26, note 4, 98, note 5, and 187, note 6.



(the great festival of the golden<sup>1</sup> parasol) . . . . .; (he built) the beautiful **Maṅgul-piriven**<sup>2</sup> for the monastery at [**Vahadū**?] . . . . .; he built a lofty relic-house; **Bamuṇu**<sup>3</sup> . . . . .; he made . . . . . and dammed the rivers and channels connected [therewith]; [he repaired] the dilapidated [tanks and ponds] and by means of the water thus supplied he [put an end to] scarcity of food in the Island of Ceylon<sup>4</sup>. He made the people float on the flood of his gifts . . . . . (and caused . . . . . to enter the Order).

[Lines 14-18] With the prowess of victorious lords, displayed in the precincts of the Palace, constantly filled with the wonderful presents offered by various kings of Jambudvīpa<sup>5</sup>, he brought glory upon prosperous Laṅkā. [He bestowed] reverential offerings on the 'Triple Gem'<sup>6</sup>, robes on monks who observe . . . . . (patronage) on the learned<sup>7</sup>, (help on his kindred,) . . . . . sympathy on all beings, and . . . . . on truth-tellers. With the gentleness that assuages the majesty . . . . .

[Lines 19-30] On the . . . day . . . . . in (the eighth) year after this great king [Siri Saṅgbo] Abay raised the canopy of dominion, His Majesty having effected [improvements] at the **Abhayagiri-cētiya** . . . . . enacted the [following] regulations:—

In the **Abhayagiri-vihāra**, both inside and outside, the villages and lands connected with the incomes accruing to the clergy in common<sup>8</sup> or to individual monks, as well as those connected with the . . . . . *āvāsa* (residence) of the Director of Religious Ceremonies of the Order shall in no wise be . . . . . or be enjoyed . . . . . Those who have transferred [lands] shall be deported<sup>9</sup> . . . . . In the capacity of laymen [these lands] shall not be enjoyed . . . . . shall protect, but laymen [shall not cut down] trees [and plants]<sup>10</sup>.

[Lines 30-40] Monks shall be invited [for religious ceremonies] in accordance with the Buddhist code. Those who have received invitations . . . . .

<sup>1</sup> *Ruvan-sat* = P. *ratana-chatta*. In Vedic Sanskrit and Pāli *ratana* means 'a precious mineral,' such as gold, silver, pearl, gems, &c. Hence in Sinhalese *ruvan* is often used as a synonym for *suvan* (P. *suvaṇṇa*). *Ruvan-sat* may, therefore, mean either 'golden' or 'gem-set parasol.' Cf. *ruvan-suner*, above, p. 226, note 3.

<sup>2</sup> P. *Maṅgala-parivēṇa*.

<sup>3</sup> Skt. *Brāhmaṇa*.

<sup>4</sup> *Heḷ-div* = Skt. *Siṃhala-dvīpa*.

<sup>5</sup> In the foregoing inscription (line 4) this phrase runs 'the wonderful presents offered by kings of various lands.'

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *Mv.* liv. 39.

<sup>7</sup> See line 42 of the foregoing inscription.

<sup>8</sup> *Gaṇa-satu pugul-satu*. See above, p. 53, notes 3-4.

<sup>9</sup> See Mihintale tablet B, line 58 (above, p. 97).

<sup>10</sup> See Mihintale tablet A, line 50 (above, p. 93).



..... to the monks in the *āvāsa* (residence) . . . . . They shall enjoy whilst residing . . . . . They shall claim<sup>1</sup> the income, but they shall not claim . . . . of the villages and lands connected with the income. When lands (are cultivated ?) they shall not be (cultivated) for excessive profit . . . . . but they shall not be given [for cultivation] on tithe tenure<sup>2</sup>. [Lands] attached to this Vihāra shall not be given . . . . . The grantors shall be deported, while the grantees shall have no proprietary right. [Monks] shall enjoy [the income accruing] to the attached residences while living in them, but they shall not enjoy [the same] while dwelling in the chief residence . . . . . it shall be in the residence . . . . . They shall reside in [conformity with] the income . . . . . should there be any commission of wrong, competent persons shall sit [in session] and award punishment, but the income [from endowments] shall not be appropriated to the State.

[Lines 40-51] [The income of] the villages set apart for repairs<sup>3</sup> [of buildings] shall not be devoted to [the provision of] food and raiment<sup>4</sup> [to monks], but shall be utilized for repairs. When there are no villages set apart for repairs, the surplus [of the revenue] that remains after providing food and raiment, according to ancient usage, shall be used for effecting repairs. Should there be no surplus remaining after providing food and raiment, half of the income on account of raiment shall be spent on repairs. The wardens who have not acted in this manner shall be sent away from residence. Whatever remains after repairs have been effected at (*Naka* . . . .) Vihāra, at the shrine of the great stone statue [of the Buddha], at the *Ruvan-pahā*<sup>5</sup>, at the *Abaya-turā-maha-sā*<sup>6</sup> . . . . at the shrine of the sacred Bo-tree, at *Sā-giri*<sup>7</sup> and at (*Nāṭṭa-giri*)<sup>8</sup> shall be kept as communal property<sup>9</sup>, but shall not be allowed to be appropriated by those having the handling of it<sup>10</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The reading *piḷipasil*, *piḷipasīnu* is doubtful. If it be correct, the two words may be etymologically connected with Skt. *prati* + *√prach*. If, however, the correct reading be *piḷivāyit*, *piḷivāyīnu*, derivatives of Skt. *prati* + *√pad*, the translation would perhaps be, 'they shall spend the income, but they shall not spend . . . . of the villages and lands connected with the income.'

<sup>2</sup> *Dasa-kārā*, see below, p. 240, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Kam-navām*, see above, p. 57, note 6.

<sup>4</sup> *Kaṇḍā piṇḍā*, see above, p. 39, note 5, and p. 91, transcript, line 12.

<sup>5</sup> *P. Ratana-pāsāda*, see above, p. 215.

<sup>6</sup> *P. Abhayuttara-mahā-cēṭiya*.

<sup>7</sup> *P. Cēṭiya-giri*, i.e. Mihintale.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *Nāṭṭeva-maha-sā*, above, p. 97.

<sup>9</sup> *Garu-baṇḍā* = *P. garubhaṇḍa*, 'property held in common by a community of priests, as lands, tanks, crockery,' opposed to *parikkhāro*, 'personal requisites,' (Childers' *Pāli Dict.*, p. 144.)

<sup>10</sup> *Gatu gāti no denu*. The exact meaning of this clause is not clear to me. *Gatu* may be the same as modern Sinh. *gal* or *galla*, the past relative participle of *gannavā* (Skt. *√grah*). Cf. *gat-* or *gatu-deya*, 'received thing,' *galuvan*, 'recipients' (line 37, and above, p. 48, line 39). *Gāti* commonly means 'a servant,' but the *Amāvatura* (pt. ii, p. 10) uses it as a Sinhalese rendering of *P. santaka* in



Every year the monks of the six *āvāsas* shall be convened, and (before them) there shall be read out the records kept by the temple officials . . . . . in connexion with the income derived and the expenses incurred at the aforementioned places, as well as in connexion with lands given to serfs on *nimi* tenure<sup>1</sup> and *dasa-kārā* tenure. Should any dispute arise in regard to these matters, the royal officers [of the 'Curia Regis'?] . . . shall hold session and settle the dispute.

[Lines 51-56] The regulations thus enacted should always be maintained with due regard by the descendants of our dynasty, the Kṣatriya lords devoted to the Buddha, who [of yore] have received the assurance<sup>2</sup> [made by] the omniscient Lord of Sages, the pinnacle of the Śākya race, that none but the Bōdhisattas would become kings of prosperous Laṅkā; who are wont to wear the white scarf<sup>3</sup> to serve and attend on the great community of monks on the very day they celebrate the coronation festival after attaining to the dignity of kingship, bestowed<sup>4</sup> by the great community of monks for the purpose of defending 'the bowl and the robe'<sup>5</sup> of the Buddha.

the sentence *taṃ gāti dā viyadam koṭa mahadan deyi*, the Pāli original in the *Sumaṅgala-vilāsini* (p. 301) being *allano santakaṃ ēva niharitvā mahādānaṃ dēti*. It seems *gāti* has this signification in the present inscription. If *gatugāti* be a technical term opposed to *garubaṇḍ*, the translation should run 'but shall not be given away as *gatugāti* goods.'

<sup>1</sup> *Nimi*. This word ordinarily means 'finished,' probably from Skt. *nirmita*, Pkt. *nimmia*, as suggested by Professors Müller and Geiger, but its signification as a term of land tenure is not known. The context, however, when compared with that of lines 46 and 47 of the slab-record of Kassapa V (above, p. 49) where the terms *dasa-kārā* ('tenth part') and *pamaṇu* ('transfer') occur in connexion with similar regulations, seems to indicate that it is a form of tenure under which the grantee has the exclusive possession of the land without payment of a tenth (*dasa-kārā*) or any part of the revenue, probably same as Tamil *nindam*, 'exemption from claim by others' (Winslow), *nindakkāṇi*, Sinh. *ninda-gam*. In regard to these terms, Dr. A. B. Keith has favoured me with an interesting note, in which he suggests that *nimi* might have been used to distinguish a tenure which was *definite* in its incidence as opposed to vague or undefined services, while *dasa-kārā* might mean a 'servile tenure' in view of the existence of the term *dasa-gam*. See below, p. 243.

<sup>2</sup> Probably referring to the injunction supposed to have been addressed to Sakka by the Buddha on his death-bed as related in the *Mahāvamsa*, vii. 1-6.

<sup>3</sup> *Se-veḷ* = Skt. *śvēta-vēṣṭa* or *śvēta-paṭṭa*, probably a turban of silk cloth. Cf.

*Gata sav-barāṇa sādi*

*Balamin isa seveḷu-bāṇḍi*

*Kirula da tama pālaṇḍi*

*Tabā ohu mudunatehi siri-rāṇḍi*—(*Kāvyasēkhara*, xiv. 64).

<sup>4</sup> *Piḷivāyū* = Skt. *pratipādita*, P. *paṭi-pādita*.

<sup>5</sup> *Pay-sivur* = P. *paṭṭa-cīvara*, 'the bowl and the robe,' i. e. 'the priesthood.' Cf. the royal title, 'defender of the faith.'



[Lines 56-60] These regulations should also be observed by the great community of monks belonging to the line of teachers, the servants of the Dharma, who do not transgress the Path of the Law, whose thoughts are bent upon the observation of the precepts and the elimination of passion, who preserve the Buddhist religion even though [in so doing] they sacrifice their life, realizing cause for fear even in faults of a trivial nature (so much as the plucking off of disagreeable (?) plants caught in the two hands . . . . . whilst there flourish young monks who are like unto flames of fire at the end of the world cycle and who shine in the midst of Nuṅgahal-kaṇḍ)<sup>1</sup>.

No. 21. VĒVĀLKĀṬIYA SLAB-INSRIPTION OF  
MAHINDA IV (circa 1026-1042 A.D.)

VĒVĀLKĀṬIYA is a small village in Pahala Kāṇḍā Tulāna in Kāṇḍā Kōrale, about twenty-one miles to the north-east of Anurādhapura. Dr. Goldschmidt, who visited the place in 1875, was apparently the first to bring to notice the existence of the inscription<sup>2</sup>. It was subsequently examined by Dr. Müller, who in 1883 published a rough transcript with a short introductory note, but no translation<sup>3</sup>. Mr. Bell, on inspecting the slab in 1891, found it 'inscribed on one side only and considerably worn'<sup>4</sup>.

The **writing**, however, is tolerably clear on the ink-estampage before me. It consists of forty-five lines, covering a ruled space of 6 ft. by 1 ft. 6½ in. See Plate 29. The **characters** belong to the Sinhalese alphabet of the tenth and early eleventh centuries. Their size varies from  $\frac{3}{10}$  to  $\frac{4}{5}$  in. each, and their type is the same as that of the Mihintale tablets<sup>5</sup> of Mahinda IV. In regard to the formation of the

<sup>1</sup> I am unable to make out satisfactorily the meaning of the text in lines 56-58, beginning from Nuṅgahal-kaṇḍ. The above is offered tentatively.







<sup>2</sup> See *Ceylon Sessional Papers*, xxiv, p. 1.

<sup>3</sup> See *A. I. C.*, No. 122, pp. 58, 85, and 86. The introduction runs:—'Wewelkaṭiya, eleven miles from Madawacci on the Horowapotāna road. Inscription on both sides of a large slab, tolerably well preserved, but some letters are doubtful, and the whole is difficult to translate, as it contains many words which are not known from elsewhere. The king calls himself Siri Sangbo Abahay, the son of Siri Sangbo: this does not agree exactly with any of the kings mentioned in the previous inscriptions, but as the language, and especially the beginning, is exactly the same as at Ambasthala, I have ascribed this inscription also to Mahinda III.'

<sup>4</sup> *A. S. C. Annual Report*, 1891, p. 7.

<sup>5</sup> See above, Plates 14-15.



akṣaras *a*, *ra*, and the medial vowel *u*, it will be seen on following their development from the original Brāhma signs that, of the two vertical strokes the one on the left is only the result of the gradual elongation of the lower end of the other which in its intermediate cursive stage is curved upwards to the left<sup>1</sup>. In the Vessagiri and the Jētavanārāma inscriptions of Mahinda IV<sup>2</sup> (circa 1026-1042 A.D.) we find the two verticals engraved in one continuous line, although the more cursive and later style of writing them separately with their lower ends quite apart was in vogue at the time. We see this from the advanced type used in the Mihintale tablets and in the present record of the same king Mahinda IV, as well as in some of the earlier inscriptions of Kassapa V and Dappula V<sup>3</sup>. Attention should also be drawn to the akṣara , *yō*, at the beginning of the third line. It is doubtless the precursor of the modern form . The upward stroke attached to the sign of the medial vowel *o* to lengthen it is no other than the final circular stroke *o* in Telugu, e.g.  *kē* and  *kō*. In South Indian alphabets a loop or an extra curved stroke attached to a short vowel is the common sign used to denote that it is long. In Sinhalese the curved stroke seems to have been confounded with the vertical *virāma* sign<sup>4</sup>, owing perhaps to their resemblance to each other. Otherwise it is difficult to account for the use of the *virāma* signs  and  in modern Sinhalese to indicate the long vowels *ē* and *ō*<sup>5</sup>. Besides, the marking of these two vowels long is in itself an innovation. I have not yet come across a single instance in early Sinhalese inscriptions. The present one is unusual and is the earliest case I know of a medial *o* marked long.

As regards **orthography** and the style of the **language**, our record hardly differs from the other inscriptions of Mahinda IV dealt with in this volume; but, as Dr. Müller has already stated, it contains many words and phrases of which the exact meaning is still somewhat obscure. Such forms as *kuhi-vaku* (l. 9) obviously for *kisivaku*, 'any one,' *kasilā* (l. 27) for *kisillehi*, 'in the armpit,' and the expressions *kaṇḍa paḷā sora-kam kala* (l. 10), *elvanu koṭ* (l. 14), *div-milā* (l. 18), &c., are quite new to me. These and other technical terms will be discussed in the notes to the translation.

<sup>1</sup> See Bühler's *Indische Palaeographie*, p. 69.

<sup>2</sup> See above, Plates 9, 28, and 29.

<sup>3</sup> For examples of the vertical *virāma*, see Bühler's *Indische Palaeographie*, Plates VII and VIII; Burnell's *South Indian Palaeography*, Plates VI to VIII; and the modern Grantha, Malayālam, and Sinhalese alphabets.

<sup>4</sup> See above, Plates 8 and 12.

<sup>5</sup> See Mendis Gunasēkara's *Sinhalese Grammar*, p. 7.



The inscription is one of king **Siri Saṅgbo Abhay**<sup>1</sup>, and he can be no other than Mahinda IV. Apart from palaeographical and linguistic considerations, a comparison of the *birudas* alone, by which this king and his parents are referred to in his Mayilagastoṭa inscription<sup>2</sup>, the Mihintale tablets<sup>3</sup>, the Vessagiri slab<sup>4</sup> No. 2, the slab near the 'stone-canoe'<sup>5</sup>, the two foregoing Jētavanārāma inscriptions and in the present record will make this fact quite clear. Mahinda's full name was **Siri Saṅgbo Abhā**<sup>6</sup> **Mihindu**, his mother's was **Dev Gon Biso-rājna**, and his father was known by the two *biruda* titles **Abhā**<sup>6</sup> **Salamevan** and **Siri Saṅgbo Abhā**<sup>7</sup>.

The two akṣaras, in line 4, which give the number of the regnal year in which this Vēvālkāṭiya record was incised are unfortunately not very clear. They look exceedingly like *na* and *va*. If this be the correct reading, the wording of the date would be *Siri Saṅgbo Abhay Maharaj-hu sat lāṅgū (nava) vana havvuruduyehi Undvap sand pere ad mashi dasa pak dadas*, 'on the tenth day of the first half of the (lunar) month of Undvap (Nov.-Dec.) in the (ninth) year after the great king Siri Saṅgbo Abhay raised the canopy of dominion.' This is word for word the same as that in the Vessagiri record of Mahinda IV (circa 1026-1042 A.D.), with the exception of the name of the month of Binera (Aug.-Sept.). Our inscription, therefore, is probably later only by three months.

The **subject-matter** is the administration of criminal justice in the *dasa-gama* of Kibi-nilam district in Amgam-kūliya in the Northern Quarter. As such it is an important epigraphical document. It furnishes us with some definite information concerning the Sinhalese law relating to 'crimes and wrongs,' *crimina* and *delicta*, and also concerning the administrative methods that must have prevailed in the Island during the tenth and eleventh centuries A.D. At the outset we are confronted with the technical term *dasa-gama*, of which the meaning is ambiguous. We know that *gama* is Skt. *grāma*, 'village.' But whether *dasa* should in the present instance be connected with P. *dasa*, 'ten,' or with *dāsa*, 'a slave,' it is difficult to decide. The fact, however, that the *dasa-gāmā ättan*, 'inhabitants of *dasa-gama*,' seem from the context to belong to a class higher in the social scale than that of the ordinary serfs with hardly any proprietary rights, as well as the expression *dasa-gamaṭ ekeka nāyakayan*, 'each chief of the *dasa-gama*,' suggests the possibility of the existence of a system of dividing the country for administrative purposes into groups of ten villages

<sup>1</sup> Skt. *Śrī Saṅghabōdhi Abhaya*<sup>2</sup> *A. I. C.*, No. 120.<sup>3</sup> Above, pp. 75-113.<sup>4</sup> Above, pp. 29-38.<sup>5</sup> Above, pp. 113-120.<sup>6</sup> Various spelt *Abhay*, *Abhā*, *Abahay*, *Abay*, *Abā* (Skt. P. *Abhaya*).<sup>7</sup> See also above, pp. 213-214.



as prescribed in the Hindu Law Books of Manu, Viṣṇu, and others<sup>1</sup>. Compare also the term *dāśa-grāmika* in the Khālimpūr Plate of the Buddhist king Dharma-pāla-dēva<sup>2</sup>. According to the late Professor Kielhorn, it probably means 'an officer in charge of a group of ten villages.' On the other hand, the absence of any reference to such a system in Sinhalese literature so far as we know, and the occurrence of terms such as *sivur-gam* (Skt. *cīvara-grāma*), 'villages that supply robes to the priesthood<sup>3</sup>,' *gabaḍā-gam*, 'royal villages,' and *ninda-gam*, 'villages assigned for the exclusive use of the grantee,' lead us to think that *dasa-gama* may after all be nothing more than a village occupied by the serfs attached to a temple. Whatever the actual significance of this term may be, we learn from the inscription that within the *dasa-gama* justice was administered by means of a Communal Court composed of headmen and responsible householders subject to the authority of the King in Council, 'the Curia Regis.' In its democratical character, this tribunal differs from the Courts prescribed in the Hindu Law Books<sup>4</sup> unless the judicial assemblies mentioned by Nārada include such an institution. This village court was empowered to carry into effect the laws enacted by the King in Council and promulgated by his ministers. It could, for example, investigate cases of murder and robbery, exact the prescribed fines from law-breakers, and in certain cases even inflict the punishment of death. Moreover, the collective responsibility<sup>5</sup> which lay upon the inhabitants of the *dasa-gama* for producing offenders within a limited time, the fines imposed upon the whole community in case of failure, the system of compensation for offences, and the surety required for good behaviour as stated in lines 15-19, 35-37 remind us strongly of certain administrative features of the Saxon and Norman periods in English history, such as the institutions of tithing and frank-pledge and the *bôt* and *wite*. Another point of resemblance to early English administrative methods is to be seen in the references both here and in other tenth and eleventh century inscriptions<sup>6</sup> to royal officers who, like the itinerant justices or members of the Curia Regis of the Norman kings, went on yearly circuits in the country not only to settle important disputes but also to promulgate new laws and to see that the Government dues were properly collected.

<sup>1</sup> *Manu*, vii. 115; *Viṣṇu*, iii. 8.

<sup>2</sup> *Ep. Ind.* iv, No. 34.

<sup>3</sup> Above, p. 189, note 11.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Manu*, viii. 9-11; *Viṣṇu*, iii. 71-74; *Nārada*, i. 7.

<sup>5</sup> For a general sketch of the primitive conditions of society involving such communal responsibility, see Maret's *Anthropology*, ch. vii.

<sup>6</sup> See above, p. 47, transcript, lines 22-23.



In the present inscription we read in lines 41-45 that the measures for the administration of criminal justice in *dasa-gama* which were enacted by the King in Council were promulgated by the following four members of his Curia:—**Goḷuggamu Raksāim Kuḍāsenu, Meykāppar Kuburgamu Lokohi, Kātiri Agbohi, and Kuṇḍasālā Arayan.**

In the preparation of the following text and translation I had before me an ink-estampage supplied by the Archaeological Commissioner (Mr. H. C. P. Bell) and the faulty transcript published in the *A.I.C.*

## TEXT.

- 1 ශ්‍රී: සිරිබර් කැත්තුල කොත් ඔකාවස් රජපරපුරෙ
- 2 න් බවි කැත්උසබිනවි අග්මෙනෙසුන්වු ලක්දිවපොලො
- 3 යෝන පරපුරෙන් ගිමිවු **සිසිසන්බො අහා** මහරජතු
- 4 පුත් **සිසිසන්බො අහස්** මහරජතු සත් ලැහැ (නව)ව
- 5 න හවුරුදුගෙහි උඤ්චස් සඤ් පෙරෙ අභි (ම)ස්ගි ද(ස)
- 6 පස් දවස් උතුරු පසැ අම්මමිකුලියෙහි කිබි(නිල)
- 7 මිහි දෙමෙල්වෙහෙර් පමණියෙන් දසගමවි එකෙක
- 8 නායකයන් කිබිගම් ඇපැ දුන් නායකයන් කුඩි
- 9 න් මෙහි ඇතුළත්නාස් නැනැ කුහිවකු මරා කෙ(වුව)
- 10 කඩ පලා සොරකම් කළ නිරු කොටි ගෙනැ දසගැමැ ඇ
- 11 න්තන් ගිඤ්ඤ විවාර උපන් දැයටි පැ හැකිසෙ ලියා
- 12 නබා මැරුවෙනු මරා පව්වනු කොටි ඉසා කඩපලා සොරු
- 13 න් ගත් අයනියෙන් නියනකලාස් අයනිය (හි)මි
- 14 හවි ගෙන දී එල්වනු කොටි ඉසා නිරු නො කළ දසගැ
- 15 මැ ඇත්තන් පන්සාලිය දවසෙකින් සොයා ගෙනැ පව්
- 16 වනු කොටි ඉසා සොයා නො ගත දසගැමින් එක්
- 17 සිය පස්විසි කළඤ්ඤ රන් රදෙලව් දෙනු කොටි ඉසා
- 18 නො මරා කෙවුව දිවිමිලැ පනාස් කළඤ්ඤ රන් ගන්නා
- 19 කොටි ඉසා නො පොහොත් ගෙදඩ ගන්නා කොටි ඉසා නිරු
- 20 නො කළ දසගැමින් පනාස් කළඤ්ඤ රන් රදෙලව් දෙනු කො
- 21 ටි ඉසා අත්පාවගලව් ගියාකුගෙන් දඩැ පනාස් කළ
- 22 ඤ්ඤ රන් ගන්නා කොටි ඉසා නො පොහොත් (ගෙ)දඩ ගන්නා කො
- 23 ටි ඉසා ගෙදඩ නැන අත් කපා පව්වනු කොටි ඉසා ..
- 24 වු දඩ සිහින් දඩ පෙරෙසිරිත්සෙ ගම්ලද්දන් පමණ්
- 25 (ලද්දන් බෙදා) ගන්නා කොටි ඉසා මිවුන් ගෙරගොන් එඵ
- 26 වන් මැරුවන් මරා පව්වනු කොටි ඉසා නො මරා සොර
- 27 ගෙනැ ගිය නියන කොටි ඔවුන් ඔවුන් කසිලැ සන්ල
- 28 කුණ් ඔබා හර්නා කොටි ඉසා නිරු නො වන් කොටා පව්ව



- 29 හු කොට් ඉසා බැහැරින් ඇරු චිකුණන මිවුන් ගෙරි  
 30 නොත් එළුවන් හැඳිනැ ඇපැ ගෙනැ ගන්නා කොට් ඉසා  
 31 අණ මැකුවන් රත්කළ යමරවැහි(ය) සිටිවනු කො  
 32 ට් ඉසා මෙ දසගැ(මැ කුඬි)ත් නමත් නමත් කුලෙහි (වැ  
 33 වෙ)න මහලවමහල වලඤ්ඤා<sup>1</sup> පැරහැර නො ඉක්මැ  
 34 වැවෙනු කොට් ඉසා මෙ දසගමට් (වැවසා)කළ නැහි  
 35 ත් (එකෙක) අවුද් (වුන්)<sup>2</sup> කු(ඬි)කෙනෙකුත් ඇත හැඳිනැ ඇ  
 36 (පැ) ගෙනැ හිඤ්චනු කොට් ඉසා නො යෙදෙන්නක් කොට් ව  
 37 ත් කෙනෙකුත් ඇත ඇපැ ගතදැ පළවුලු ගැමැ ඇ(ත්ත  
 38 ත්) පට්ටන්තට් හර්නා කොට් ඉසා මෙ දසගැමැ ඇ  
 39 ත්තත් මෙ කි තාක් දැඩින් ඉක්මැ වැටුණ හවුරුදු  
 40 හවුරුදු පතා ඉල්ලන්නට් ගිය රජකොල් සමිදරු  
 41 වන් කෙ .. කැව)න්නා කොට් වජ්ජා එක්තැත් සමියෙ  
 42 ත් ආ රජසභායෙ හිඤ්ඤා ගොඵග්ගමු ර(ක්)සා(ඉම්)  
 43 කු(බැ)<sup>3</sup>සෙනු ඉසා මෙය්කාප්පර් කුඬුර්ගමු ලොකෙ(ා)  
 44 හි ඉසා කැහිරි<sup>4</sup> අග්බොහි ඉසා කුඬසලා අර(සත්)  
 45 ඇතුලැවැ මෙතුචාක් සමිදරුවන්විසින් මෙ වැවසා කරනු ලදි

## TRANSCRIPT.

- 1 Śrī: siri-bar Kāt<sup>5</sup>-kula kot Okā-vas raj<sup>6</sup>-parapure-  
 2 -n baṭ Kāt-usabnaṭ ag-mehesun-vū Lak-div-poḷo-  
 3 yōna<sup>7</sup>-parapuren himi-vū **Siri-Saṅgbo Abhā**<sup>8</sup> maha-raj-hu  
 4 put<sup>9</sup> **Siri-Saṅgbo Abhay** maha-raj-hu sat lāṅgū (nava-)<sup>10</sup>va-  
 5 -na havuruduyehi Undvap sand pere-aḍ-(ma)s-hi da(sa)-<sup>11</sup>  
 6 pak dasas uturu pasā Amgam-kuliyehi Kibi-(nila)-<sup>12</sup>  
 7 -mhi **Demel-veher** pamaṇiyen dasa-gamaṭ ekeka<sup>13</sup>  
 8 nāyakayan Kibi-gam āpā dun nāyakayan kuḍi-  
 9 -n mehi ātuḷattāk tānā kuhivaku marā ke(tuva)

<sup>1</sup> 'පලඤ්ඤා' සිද්ධ කියවිය හැකියි

<sup>2</sup> 'වන්' සිද්ධ කියවිය හැකියි

<sup>3</sup> 'කසැ' සිද්ධ කියවිය හැකියි

<sup>4</sup> 'කැහිරි' සිද්ධ කියවිය හැකියි

<sup>5</sup> Mt. *siri bara Kāla*.

<sup>6</sup> Mt. *puta* (omitting *maha-raj-hu*).

<sup>7</sup> Mt. *yon*.

<sup>8</sup> Mt. *aga*.

<sup>9</sup> Mt. *tun*.

<sup>10</sup> Müller's text here and further on differs considerably from that of mine.

<sup>11</sup> *Kabāna-gamhi* or *Kibina-gamhi* may be suggested as alternative readings; Mt. *kamānak*.

<sup>12</sup> Or *eketu*.



- 10 kaṇḍa paḷā sora-kam kaḷa tirā koṭ genā dasa-gāmā ā-  
 11 -ttan hindā vicārā upan dāyaṭ pā hāki-se liyā  
 12 tabā māruvehu marā paṭvanu koṭ isā kaṇḍa-paḷā soru-  
 13 -n gat ayatiyen niyata-kaḷāk ayatiya (hi)mi-  
 14 -haṭ gena dī elvanu koṭ isā tirā no kaḷa dasa-gā-  
 15 -mā āttan pansālisa davasekin soyā genā paṭ-<sup>1</sup>  
 16 -vanu koṭ isā soyā no gata<sup>2</sup> dasa-gāmin ek-  
 17 siya pas-visi kaḷandak ran radolaṭ denu koṭ isā  
 18 no marā keṭuva div-milā panās<sup>3</sup> kaḷandak ran gannā  
 19 koṭ isā no pohot ge-daḍ gannā koṭ isā tirā  
 20 no kaḷa dasa-gāmin panās kaḷandak ran radolaṭ denu ko-  
 21 -ṭ isā at-pā-vahalaṭ giyākugen daḍa panās kaḷa-  
 22 -ndak ran gannā koṭ isā no pohot (ge)-daḍ gannā ko-  
 23 -ṭ isā ge-daḍ nāta at kapā paṭ-vanu koṭ isā ..  
 24 -vū daḍ sihin daḍ pere-sirit-se gam-laddan pamaṇu-  
 25 (laddan bedā) gannā koṭ isā mīvun geri-gon eḷu-  
 26 -van māruvan marā paṭvanu koṭ isā no marā sorā-  
 27 genā giya niyata koṭ ovun ovun kasilā san-la-  
 28 -kuṇ obā harnā koṭ isā tirā no vat koṭa paṭva-  
 29 -nu koṭ isā bāhārin<sup>4</sup> āra vikuṇana mīvun geri-  
 30 -gon eḷuvan hāndinā āpā genā gannā koṭ isā  
 31 aṇa mākuvan rat-kaḷa ya-maravāḍiy(e)<sup>5</sup> siṭvanu ko-  
 32 -ṭ isā me dasa-gā(mā kuḍi)n taman taman kulehi (vā-  
 33 -ṭe)na maṅgul-avamaṅgula valandnā<sup>6</sup> pārahāra no ikmā  
 34 vāṭenu koṭ isā me dasa-gamaṭ (vāvasthā<sup>7</sup>)-kaḷa tāni-  
 35 -n (ekeka) avud (vun)<sup>8</sup> ku(ḍi)-kenekun āta hāndinā ā-  
 36 (-pā) genā hindvanu koṭ isā no yedennak koṭ va-  
 37 -n kenekun āta āpā<sup>9</sup> gata-dā paḷamu-vū gāmā ā(tta-  
 38 -n) paṭvannaṭ harnā koṭ isā me dasa-gāmā ā-  
 39 -ttan me kī tāk dāyin ikmā vāṭuṇa havurudu  
 40 havurudu patā illannaṭ giya raj-kol sam-da(ru-  
 41 van ke .. kāva)tnā koṭ vajāla ek-tān samiye-  
 42 -n ā raj-sabhāye hindnā **Goḷuggamu**<sup>10</sup> **Ra(k)sā(im)**

<sup>1</sup> Or *pen*.<sup>2</sup> Mt. *gal*.<sup>3</sup> Mt. also *panās*.<sup>4</sup> Mt. *dāhārin ara pikaṇata*.<sup>5</sup> Mt. *samar paḍiya*.<sup>6</sup> This may also be read as *palandnā*.<sup>7</sup> Read *vyavasthā*.<sup>8</sup> Or *van*.<sup>9</sup> Mt. *āpa gena dī paḷamuva hāmā aṇa*.<sup>10</sup> Mt. *hoḷaggam*.



- 43 Ku(dā)-senu isā Meykāppar Kuburgamu Lok(o)-<sup>1</sup>  
 44 -hi isā Kātiri<sup>2</sup> Agbohi isā Kuṇḍasalā Ara(yan)  
 45 ātuḷāvā metuvāk sam-daruvan-visin me vāvasthā<sup>3</sup> karanu ladi

## TRANSLATION.

[Lines 1-6] Prosperity! On the tenth day of the first half of the (lunar) month of *Undvaṣ* (Nov.-Dec.)<sup>4</sup> in the (ninth)<sup>5</sup> year, after the canopy of dominion was raised by the great king<sup>6</sup> **Siri Saṅgbo Abhay**, son of the great king **Siri Saṅgbo Abhā**, lord by lineal succession of the lords of the soil of the Island of Laṅkā, which has become [as it were] the chief queen<sup>7</sup> unto the

<sup>1</sup> Mt. *mega kap para kamur me loke*.

<sup>2</sup> Or *Kākiri*.

<sup>3</sup> Read *vyavasthā*.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 198, note 4.

<sup>5</sup> *Nava-vana* = ninth; the readings *de-vana*, *tun-vana* = second, third respectively. See above, p. 246, note 10.

<sup>6</sup> *Maha-raj*. See Dr. Fleet's interesting note on the title *mahārāja* in his *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 15, note 4.

<sup>7</sup> *Kāt-usabnaḥ ag-mehesun vū Lak-div-polo-yōna-parapuren himi-vū*. The above rendering of this passage is founded on the meaning assigned to the similar expressions *Lak-div-polo-mehesana-parapuren himi* and *Lak-polo-mehesanaḥ talā-ḥik bandu* occurring in the Vessagiri slabs of Dappula V and of Mahinda IV (above, pp. 25 and 32), and in the slab-record of Kassapa V (above, p. 46). Compare also the expressions *Rāṣṭrakūṭṣavarāṇām vaṁśa* and *Rāṣṭrakūṭa-kula-tilaka* (*Ep. Ind.* vii. p. 217). In my note on the subject (above, p. 26, note 10), I derived *mehesana* from Skt. *mahēśāna* (*mahā + īśāna*), and suggested that the forms *yohon*, *yōna*, and *yon* found in other inscriptions might possibly be derivatives of *īśāna* without *mahā*, but in combination with *polo* (Skt. *prthivī*, P. *paṭhavī*, Pkt. *puḍhavī*, *puhavī*, *puhai*; Sinh. *polova* and *polō*), which accounts for the vowel changes and the insertion of *y*. As for the change of Skt. *ś* into Pkt. and Sinh. *h*, see Pischel's *Pkt. Gram.*, par. 262, and Geiger's *L. S. S.*, par. 21. The compound *Lak-div-polo-yōna* may, however, admit of another interpretation. In Sinhalese poetry, the Island of Laṅkā is invariably compared to a maiden, as, for example, *sulakaḷa puvaḷa Lak-aṅgana*, 'the fair, proud dame Laṅkā' (*Sālahiṇi-sandēsa*, v. 9). And *yōna*, *yona* or *yon* (from Skt. *yuvan*) means in Sinhalese 'a maiden,' e.g. *pura-yōnan*, 'city maidens' (*Kavsilumina*, v. 14), and *nava-yōnan*, 'young maidens' (*Sasadāvata*, v. 169). See also *Nāmāvaliya*, v. 150. The phrase *Kāt-usabnaḥ ag-mehesun-vū Lak-div-polo-yōna-parapuren himi* may therefore be rendered 'lord, by hereditary succession, of the soil of the Island of Laṅkā, [which is like unto] a maiden that has [always] been [as it were] the chief queen unto the Kṣatriya princes.' The occurrence of the compound *polo-nava-yon*, in the Nāmbākaḍa pillar (*A. S. C. Seventh Progress Report*, p. 66), lends support to this interpretation, whilst the form *yohon* in the Devanagala slab of Parākrama Bāhu I (*A. S. C. Report on the Kegalla District*, p. 75), and the use of *yona*, independent of *Lak-div-polo*, in the Galpota record of Niśsaṅka Malla (*A. I. C.*, No. 148, A. 5), seem to militate against this view. I have as yet no grounds to suppose that the word *yona* or *yon* in Ceylon inscriptions may possibly refer to the *Yavanas* or *yonas* as applied to the ancient Arabian traders and their descendants in Ceylon.



Kṣatriya princes descended from the royal line of the Okkāka dynasty, the pinnacle of the very illustrious Kṣatriya race.

[Lines 6-14] Touching the *dasa-gam*<sup>1</sup> from amongst the endowments to **Demel-vehera** (Tamil monastery) at Kibi-nilam<sup>2</sup> in Amgam-kulīya<sup>3</sup> in the Northern Quarter, each headman [of these villages], as well as those headmen and householders who have given security<sup>4</sup> for Kibi-gam, shall ascertain [the facts], when in any spot within this [district] murder<sup>5</sup> or robbery with violence<sup>6</sup> has been committed. Thereafter they shall sit in session<sup>7</sup> and inquire of the inhabitants of the *dasa-gam* [in regard to these crimes]. The proceedings [of the inquiry] having been so recorded that the same may be produced [thereafter], they shall have the murderer punished with death<sup>8</sup>. Out of the property taken by thieves by violence, they shall have such things as have

<sup>1</sup> See my explanation of this technical term above, p. 243. Compare also the phrase *vehera avaṭṭā āvū lāk lanaṭ . . . . . vāri, (pere) nāṣṭiyam dasa-gam no vadnā isā* in the Vessagiri slab, No. 2, side A, lines 24-26, above, p. 33; *perenāṣṭiyam* is the correct reading. Here *dasa-gam* obviously stands for *dasa-gammu*, 'the inhabitants of *dasa-gam*.' My translation at p. 37 should, therefore, run 'nor shall *vāri* (labourers), *perenāṣṭiyam* (same as *pere-nāṣṭiyam* and *pere-nāṣṭu*) or inhabitants of *dasa-gam* enter.'

<sup>2</sup> *Kibi*, probably from P. *kumbhiko*, 'containing a measure of ten ammaṇas in sowing extent,' and Tamil *nilam*, 'ground.' Compare, however, the reading *Kibina-gam* (p. 246, note 12), and *Kibi-gam* in line 8: both obviously refer to the same locality and may have a technical meaning. Cf. also *Kubigamika* in the Jētavanārāma inscription of Maḷu-Tisa, line 8, below, p. 255.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Padonnaru-kulīya*, above, p. 206, note 4. Also *Pankulīya*, a hamlet near Anurādhapura.

<sup>4</sup> *Kibigam āpā dun nāyakayan kuḍin*. Cf. *ātuḷ bāhāri aya-viyēhi yut kāmiyan nāsūvāk denuvaṭ nisi kuḍin āpā genā*, 'for the purpose of compensating for whatever may be destroyed by those engaged in matters relating to receipts and disbursements, both inside and outside (the Vihāra), security having been taken from suitable householders' (Mihintale record of the same king Mahinda IV, above, p. 92, lines 23-24). Compare also the principle of pledges in Saxon and Norman times of English history.

<sup>5</sup> *Marā*, lit. 'having killed'; *keṭuva*, from *koṣanavā*, 'to beat with a club.' Cf. *vī koṣanavā*, 'to pound paddy.' The compound *marā koṣanavā* has, therefore, the signification 'to beat to death.' Cf. *no marā keṭuva* in line 18, *mini keṭū kenekun*, 'those who have committed murder' (above, p. 47, line 18), *mini maraṇavā*, 'to murder.'

<sup>6</sup> *Kaṇḍa-palā sora-kam kaḷa*. I am not sure of the exact signification of this expression. The above is given tentatively. *Kaṇḍa* may be a derivative of Skt. *kāṇḍa* or *khaṇḍa*, 'section' or 'fragment'; *kāḍa* has also the significations 'privacy, vile, low.' *Palā* can be the gerund of *paṭanavā*, 'to tear asunder' (from Skt. *√sphaṭ* or *sphuṭ*). Cf. also P. *khaṇḍa-phullam*, 'breakage.' *Sora-kam* = P. *cōra-kamma*. Mr. Bell's rendering of *kaṇḍa-palā* is 'by breaking into boutiques' (*A. S. C. Seventh Progress Report*, 1891, p. 53).

<sup>7</sup> *Hindā*, lit. 'having sat in session.' Cf. *metuvāk janā . . . Ātveherhi hindā*, 'all these persons having held sessions in the Ātvehera' (Mihintale tablet A, lines 21-22, above, pp. 92, 101). Dr. Keith informs me that the ancient Indian *sabhā* held judicial sittings; cf. Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, s.v. *sabhā*.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *Viṣṇu*, v. 1-11; *Nārada*, xiv. 8.



been [duly] identified, restored to the respective owners, and have [the thieves] hanged<sup>1</sup>.

[Lines 14-18] If [offenders] are not detected, the inhabitants of the *dasa-gam* shall find them and have them punished within forty-five days. Should they not find them, then the *dasa-gam* shall be made to pay [a fine of] 125 *kaḷaṇḍas*<sup>2</sup> [weight] of gold to the State<sup>3</sup>.

[Lines 18-20] If [the case] be an aggravated assault and not murder, [a fine of] 50 *kaḷaṇḍas* [weight] of gold shall be exacted as [penalty for] damage to life<sup>4</sup>. Should this not be feasible, *ge-dad*<sup>5</sup> shall be exacted. If [however, the assailants] are not detected, the *dasa-gam* shall be made to pay [a fine of] 50 *kaḷaṇḍas* [weight] of gold to the State.

[Lines 21-25.] From those who went out to do menial work, a fine of 50 *kaḷaṇḍas* [weight] of gold shall be exacted. Should this not be feasible, *ge-dad* shall be levied. Should there be no *ge-dad*, they shall be punished by having their hands cut off. Holders of villages<sup>6</sup> and of *pamaṇu* lands<sup>7</sup> shall divide among themselves in accordance with former usage the proceeds of (the . . .) fines and the minor (?) fines.

[Lines 25-30] Those who have slaughtered buffaloes, oxen, and goats shall be punished with death. Should [the cattle] be stolen but not slaughtered, after due determination [thereof], each [offender] shall be branded under the armpit.

<sup>1</sup> *Elvanu*. This word is used in the sense of 'suspending' both in the modern language and in an ancient Sinhalese tract called *Sikhakaraṇī* (above, p. 99, note 5). The context, too, seems to support the above rendering, for it provides punishment in the case of theft, just as in that of murder. But I have not yet come across 'hanging' mentioned as a form of capital punishment in Sinhalese literature. Besides, if death penalty was meant, we should expect the phrase *marā paṭvanu ko!* repeated. It is true that in the *Dēśavaḷamūi*, 'hanging' is referred to as one of the forms of death punishment, but this Tamil work is a compilation of the eighteenth century founded on the laws and customs prevailing in Jaffna during the Dutch period. Regarding the restoration of stolen goods, see *Manu*, viii. 40; *Viṣṇu*, iii. 66.

<sup>2</sup> Compare in this connexion the statutes of William the Conqueror (Stubbs's *Charters*, pp. 83-85).

<sup>3</sup> *Radolaṭ*, lit. 'to the royal family.' Cf. the forms *raj-kol* and *rad-kol*, above, pp. 47, 54 note 1, 55 note 2, 161 note 5, 189 note 9.

<sup>4</sup> *Div-milā*, lit. 'life-price.' It is not clear from the context whether this is a *bōt* or a *wile*. Cf. Taswell-Langmead's *English Constitutional History*, p. 32, *Manu*, viii. 287, and *Viṣṇu*, v. 60-75. Cf. also the old Indian term *vaira* in Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, ii. 331, 332.

<sup>5</sup> Probably a fine imposed on each household. Skt. *gr̥ha-dāṇḍa*. See above, pp. 54 note 3, 103 note 12.

<sup>6</sup> *Gam-laddan*, lit. 'recipients of villages.' Same as P. *gāma-bhōjaka* (above, p. 206, note 7, and below, p. 259). Compare in this connexion the official title *bhōgika* so often occurring in Indian inscriptions. *Bhōgika* may also mean 'a village proprietor.' See *Ep. Ind.* v. p. 39.

<sup>7</sup> *Pamaṇu-laddan*. Cf. *pamaṇu-laduvan*, *kābāli-laduvan*, and *pamaṇu-gam*, above, p. 117.



If [the nature of the offence]<sup>1</sup> be not determined, [the culprits] shall be beaten. The buffaloes, oxen, and goats which are brought from outside for sale, shall only be bought after due identification of them and on security being given.

[Lines 31-36] Those who have effaced brand-marks<sup>2</sup> shall be made to stand on red-hot iron sandals. The inhabitants of these *dasa-gam* shall observe without transgression the privileges they enjoy<sup>3</sup> on [occasions of] rejoicing and mourning that occur in their respective families. If there be a villager who has come from (outside?)<sup>4</sup> the limits prescribed for these *dasa-gam*, [he] shall be [duly] identified, and after taking security, shall be allowed to remain [in the *dasa-gam*].

[Lines 36-41] If there be one who has entered [these villages] after having committed an improper act, though security is taken, the inhabitants of the village in which the party at first resided, shall be permitted to impose [punishment on him].

Should the inhabitants of these *dasa-gam* villages have transgressed any of the rules stated [above], the Royal Officials who go<sup>5</sup> annually [on circuit] to administer justice<sup>6</sup> [in the country] shall . . . . .<sup>7</sup>.

[Lines 41-45] **Goḷuggamu Ra(k)sā(im) Ku(ḍā)-senu, Meykāppar Kubur-gamu Lok(o)hi, and Kātiri Agbohi**, as well as **Kuṇḍasalā Ara(yan)**: all these lords who sit in the Royal Council, and who have come [together] in accordance with the mandate delivered [by the King in Council] have promulgated<sup>8</sup> these regulations.

<sup>1</sup> That is to say, whether the crime is one of cattle-slaughtering or of cattle-lifting.

<sup>2</sup> Probably the brand-marks on cattle.

<sup>3</sup> If the reading '*palandnā*' is adopted, the translation would run 'privileges in respect of dress on occasions of rejoicing and mourning.'

<sup>4</sup> The text here not being clear, I cannot be quite certain of my interpretation.

<sup>5</sup> *Giya* (line 40), lit. 'went.'

<sup>6</sup> *Illannaṭ* (line 40), modern Sinh. 'to claim or demand.' The full expression should be *raṭ illannaṭ*. Compare the two decrees *dede havurudden gos raj-kol-sam-daruwan raṭ illā pas mahā sāvaddā-varaj illat-mut sesu varad no illanu isā* . . . . . *raṭ paṭavannaṭ giya raj-kol-sam-daruwan gat daṇḍā giṅḡiriyak āla sam-daruwan daṇḍā-nāyakayan hindā vicāra-koḷ hāriyā yutuvak harnā isā* in the slab-inscription of Kassapa V (lines 19-20, and 22-24, above, p. 47). *Raṭ illannaṭ* and *raṭ paṭavannaṭ* are both technical official terms. The first seems to signify the administration of justice in the country, the second the imposing of punishment. See above, p. 53, note 13, and p. 54, note 1. In the *Dampiyā-aṭuvā-gālapada* (p. 92) *iliyannem* is given as the translation of P. *anvāsam*, the present participle of *anvāsati* (Skt. *anu* + *√iṣ*), 'seek, search, or investigate.' Possibly this has the same etymology as our word *illanavā*, as it certainly has the same meaning in all the tenth and eleventh century inscriptions known to us.

<sup>7</sup> I am unable to make out this word owing to the indistinctness of some of the letters.

<sup>8</sup> Lit. 'these regulations were made by the lords.'



## No. 22. JĒTAVANĀRĀMA INSCRIPTION OF MAḶU-TISA

(circa 229-247 A. D.)

**T**HIS inscription was discovered by the Archaeological Commissioner of Ceylon (Mr. H. C. P. Bell) in 1910. It consists of 16 lines, covering an area of 6 ft. 10 in. by 4 ft. 8 in. of the top side of a slab now forming one of the flag-stones of the pavement at the south altar of the so-called Jētavanārāma Dāgaba.

The **letters** are boldly engraved and are quite clear, with the exception of those at places where the stone is worn or damaged. Their size varies from  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to  $2\frac{1}{2}$  in. each, and they belong to the Southern Brāhmī alphabet of the latter part of the second or the first half of the third century A. D. Their type, however, indicates a certain 'archaic' or retrograde tendency. The elongated vertical strokes, as a rule curved at the end, of *a*, *ka*, *ra*, and *la*, which are some of the characteristic features of the Southern Brāhmī alphabet of this period both here and in India, are entirely wanting. In other respects the letters have undergone normal development, as will be seen on a comparison of the accompanying facsimile (Plate 30) with those of the earlier inscriptions at Perumāiyan-kuḷam, Pālu-Mākiccāva, and Maha-Ratmale (above, Plates 13 and 27). Attention should be drawn to the *svastika* in lines 9, 12, and 14. It is used here perhaps to serve both as an auspicious symbol and as a mark of punctuation.

The **language** is ancient Sinhalese, which in style and phraseology resembles so much the Prākṛit dialects employed in the earliest inscriptions of India.

The **orthography** seems to be faultless with the exception of *gari* in line 10, which is obviously a clerical error for *giri*, as given in line 13. The **grammar** too is regular. We see the nominative singular in *-i*, the genitive in *-ha*, the locative in *-hi*, the dative in *-haṭaya*, and the gerund in *-tu* and *-ya*, e. g. *koṭu*, *kaḍaya*, and *karavaya*. We find also the crude form of the noun used for the nominative, as is sometimes the case in Prākṛit. All these have already been noticed and in part explained elsewhere in the present volume<sup>1</sup>.

Regarding the etymology and the meaning of uncommon words and phrases in the text, the reader is referred to the remarks which immediately follow the translation.

The inscription is one of king **Maḷu-Tisa**, son of king **Naka**. His identity

<sup>1</sup> See the Index for references.



with **Kaṇiṭṭha-Tissa** (*circa* 229-247 A.D.), son of **Mahallaka-Nāga**, was first established by Dr. Müller<sup>1</sup>. It records that at **Utara-maha-ceta**, he effected repairs, built four gateways and a 'sitting-hall' (*asana-hala*), and granted the income derived from certain tanks and 'anicuts' for the maintenance of the monks of the Abhayagiri-vihāra and for expenses connected with the repairs of its buildings, the 'Great Refection,' and the supply of oil and offerings. The **Utara-maha-ceta** may be identified with the **Abhayuttara-mahā-cētiya** of the **Abhayagiri-vihāra**, mentioned both in the *Mahāvamsa* and in the two foregoing inscriptions<sup>2</sup> of Mahinda IV from the same locality as the present one. In lines 5, 12, and 15 we are told that MaḢu-Tisa caused the construction of four *ayikas* ('gateways'?) to this *Mahā-cetiya*, the **Gaṇiṇi-Tisa** tank, and a 'sitting-hall.' The *Mahāvamsa*<sup>3</sup>, however, ascribes the erection of *ādimukhas* ('arches'?) at the four gates of the same *cetiya*, the formation of the **Gāmaṇi-Tissa** tank, and the building of the *Mahā-āsana*<sup>4</sup> hall in the capital to king Gajabāhu, who reigned some thirty years before MaḢu-Tisa.

Finally, seeing that the present slab and the two foregoing ones of Mahinda IV as well as the slab-inscription of Kassapa V (above, No. 4) exclusively deal with the Abhayagiri Monastery, we would naturally expect to find them set up in the vicinity, if not within the precincts of the monastery in question. But they were discovered within the area of the so-called Jētavanārāma. Hence arises the question whether the stones were in their original position when they were found, or they have been brought to Jētavanārāma in later times from the Abhayagiri. If the former be the case, doubts may be entertained as to the correctness of the accepted identification of the Jētavanārāma ruins, especially as this monastery was only built in the reign of Mahāsēna, some eighty-four years after king MaḢu-Tisa. It may, in view of these facts, be possible that these ruins belong to another monastery attached to the Abhayagiri fraternity, if they are not of the Abhayagiri-vihāra itself.

As to the places mentioned in the record, **Upala-keṭaka** (Skt. *Utpala-keṣṭraka*) may have been a tract of field in **Upala-vibajaka** or **-bijaka** referred to in the inscriptions of Pālu-Mākiccāva and Tammānnā-kanda<sup>5</sup>. I take

<sup>1</sup> *A. I. C.*, p. 29.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 216.

<sup>3</sup> Ch. xxxv. 119-122.

<sup>4</sup> It is unfortunate that the letters immediately preceding the word *asana-hala* are so indistinct in the inscription; else they would probably help us to determine whether the building in question was a temple dedicated to the *yakkha* named *Mahēja* (*Mv. T.* xvii. 30), or *Mahejjā* (Professor Geiger's edition), that is to say, whether it was called *Mahējāsanasālā*, as the Burmese recension of the *Mahāvamsa* gives, or was simply an *āsana-sālā* of the congregation of monks, as the Sinhalese recension seems to indicate.

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 210.



**Majata-gamaṇa** as a proper name with *kiriye*, loc. of *kiriya* (P. *karīsa*) added to it. In the Habaraṇa record<sup>1</sup> Dr. Müller reads *mujita gamaṇa keriyahi*, which he translates 'on account of the inundated villages,' deriving *mujita* from the p.p.p. of *√majj* and *keriya* from P. *kāriya*. The **Kubigamika-vavi** may have been a tank in Kibi-gama mentioned in line 8 of the Vēvālkāṭiya inscription<sup>2</sup>. The district **Vihira-bijaka**, where the tank **Visaḷa-gamika-vavi** (line 11) was, may be identical with the one named in the Maha-Ratmale and the Galkōvila inscriptions<sup>3</sup>, and in *Mv.* xvii. 59.

The following edition of the record is based on two ink-estampages and two eye-copies supplied by the Archaeological Commissioner of Ceylon.

## TEXT.

- 1 [සිබ- නකමහරජහ පුත ම]ඵ(නි)සමහරජ උතරමහවෙනහි . . . . .  
(වන) ..
- 2 .. . . . . (වය පව) .. . . . . [ස](කල)  
සම(නෙ)ය කර කඩය දිනි උ [නක මහ]
- 3 රජ]හ පුත මඵනිසමහරජ උපල<sup>1</sup>කෙන(කනි) .. . . . . (රහණකගලි)යෙහි  
අව ක(රිහි) .. . . . .
- 4 .. . . . . (උතර)මහ(වෙ)නහි තෙල ව (හුනි) ව මුලකොටු දිනි .. . . . .  
.. . . . .
- 5 [උතරමහ](වෙන)හි වතර අසික කරවය ජිණ පටිසනිරිය කරනක කොටු (ව)  
.. . . . .
- 6 මහබිඳුසන[හවය] (ම)හපක(ව)වහ උවණක කොටු ව මජනගමණ<sup>2</sup>කිරි(යෙ)  
හිය (කො)මන(ලුමහවටි ව)
- 7 (සුමනමහවටි ව) .. . . . . (වටි) ව නිරිලවිටියවටි (ව) නළි(බි)අවියවටි ව  
(තමල)වරව(ටි) [ව] .. . . . .
- 8 .. (වටි ව උතර)වටි ව .. . . . . කවටි ව කුඹිගමිකවටි  
ව මහබටි(දන)ව
- 9 පි ව (මහනිලදරක අවරණ ව මුවනකවටි) .. . . (අව)රණෙහ<sup>3</sup> ව දකපති කර  
කඩය මහරජ දිනි උ [නකමහ]
- 10 (රජහ) පුත (මඵ)නිසමහරජ අබයගරි<sup>4</sup>මහවිහර .. . . . . (න කඩ)ගරි  
.. . . . . ය .. . . . .
- 11 හවය ව බුඳුසගහවය ව විහිරබිජකිහි විස(ල)ගමිකවටි .. . . . . [ක]
- 12 ර කඩය දිනි උ නකමහරජහ පුත මඵනිසමහරජ නිලරජිය ගමිණිනිස  
.. . . . . [ක]

<sup>1</sup> A I. C., No. 61.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 246.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 61.

<sup>4</sup> 'උපලි' සිද කියවිය හැකි

<sup>5</sup> 'ගමනෙ' සිද කියවිය හැකි

<sup>6</sup> මෙය 'අවරණ' විය හැකි

<sup>7</sup> මෙය 'හිරි' විය යුතු



- 13 රවය දකපතිය ව බො(ජී)යපතිය ව කර කඩය අබයතිරමහවිහරහි මහ  
 14 මහපකවමහ (උවන)ක කොටු දිනි ඤ නකමහරජහ පුත මච්ඡිසමහරජ  
 15 වන(ර)හි(ඤ)කිල (අ)ස(වක) අසනහල කරවය ජිණ පටිසතිරිය කර(න)ක කොටු  
 (මහ  
 16 ලෙකෙනකහි) දෙළස කරහි (ව) .. යහි දෙළස කරහි ව දෙපති ව (උ)ත කුබර  
 කර කඩය (දිනි)

## TRANSCRIPT.

- 1 [Sidha- Naka-maha-rajaha puta Ma]ḷu-(Ti)sa-maha-raji Utara-maha-cetahi  
 .. .. . (cata) ..  
 2 .. .. . (-vaya pava) .. .. . [sa](ka-  
 la)-sama(te)ya kara kaḍaya dini ඤ [Naka-maha-  
 3 raja]ha puta Maḷu-Tisa-maha-raji Upala<sup>1</sup>-keta(kahi .. .. . (rahaṇaka-  
 gali)yehi aṭa ka(rihi) .. .. .  
 4 .. .. . (Utera-)maha-(ce)tahi tela ca (huti) ca mula-koṭu dini .. .. .  
 .. .. .  
 5 [Utera-maha-](ceta)hi catara ayika karavaya jiṇa paṭisatiriya karanaka  
 koṭu (ca) .. .. .  
 6 maha-biku-saga-[haṭaya] (ma)hapaka-(va)ṭaha uvaṇaka koṭu ca Majata-  
 gamaṇa<sup>2</sup>-kiri(ye) hiya (Ko)mata(la-maha-vavi ca)  
 7 (Sumita-maha-vavi ca) .. .. . (-vavi) ca Niṭilaviṭiya-vavi (ca) Naḷi(bi)-  
 aviya-vavi ca (Tamaḷa)-vari-va(vi) [ca] .. .. .  
 8 .. (-vavi ca Utera-)vavi ca .. .. . -ka-vavi ca Kubi-  
 gamika-vavi ca Mahabaṭi-(dana-)va-  
 9 -vi ca (Mahaniḷadaraka avaraṇa ca Micataki-vavi) .. .. (ava)raṇeha<sup>3</sup> ca da-  
 ka-pati kara kaḍaya maharaji dini ඤ [Naka-maha-]  
 10 (-rajaha) puta (Maḷu)-Tisa-maharaji Abayagari<sup>4</sup>-maha-vihara .. .. .  
 (na kaḍa)-gari .. .. . ya .. .. .  
 11 -haṭaya ca buku-sagahaṭaya ca Vihira-bijakihi Visa(la)-gamika-vavi .. .. .  
 .. .. . [ka]  
 12 -ra kaḍaya dini ඤ Naka-maha-rajaha puta Maḷu-Tisa-maha-raji Nilaraji-  
 -ya Gamiṇi-Tisa .. .. . [ka-]  
 13 -ravaya dakapatiya ca bo(ji)ya-patiya ca kara kaḍaya Abayagiri-maha-viha-  
 -rahi maha

<sup>1</sup> Or *upali*.<sup>3</sup> Probably for *avaraṇaha*.<sup>2</sup> This may also be read *gamane*.<sup>4</sup> Read *-giri*.



- 14 maha-paka-vaṭaha (uvana)ka koṭu dini 𑀭 Naka-maha-rajaha puta Maḷu-  
Tisa-maha-raji  
15 cata(ra)hi(ṇi)kila (a)sa(vaka) asanahala karavaya jiṇa paṭisatiriya kara(na)-  
ka koṭu (Maha-  
16 -le-ketakahi) doḷasa-karihi (ca) .. -yahi doḷasa-karihi ca do-pati ca (u)ta  
kubara kara kaḍaya (dini)

## TRANSLATION.

[Lines 1-2] [Hail!] The great king **Maḷu-Tisa**, [son of the great king **Naka**] . . . . . at **Utara-maha-ceta** granted . . . . . exempting [the same] from all recognized taxes.

[Lines 2-4] The great king Maḷu-Tisa, son of [the great king Naka] granted . . . . . in the tract of field [called] Upala, and eight *karīsas* in . . . . . (-rahaṇaka-gaḷiya)<sup>1</sup> . . . . . providing [thereby] money for oil and (offerings) at the Utara-maha-ceta.

[Lines 5-9] The great king causing four gateways (?) to be built at the [Utara-maha-]ceta, dedicated free of tax the income derived from the waters of the great tanks (Ko)mata(la) and (Sumita) situated in Majata-gamaṇa-kiriya, the tank . . . . . the tank Niṭilaviṭiya, the tank Naḷi(bi)-aviya, the tank (Tamaḷa)-vari, the tank . . . . . the tank Utara, the tank . . . . . the tank Kubigamika, the supplying tank Mahabaṭi, (the 'anicut' Mahaniḷadara, and the 'anicut' . . . . . the tank Micataki) for the purpose of effecting repairs of dilapidated [buildings] . . . . . and as an endowment for the maintenance of the 'Great Refection' for the great congregation of monks at . . . . .

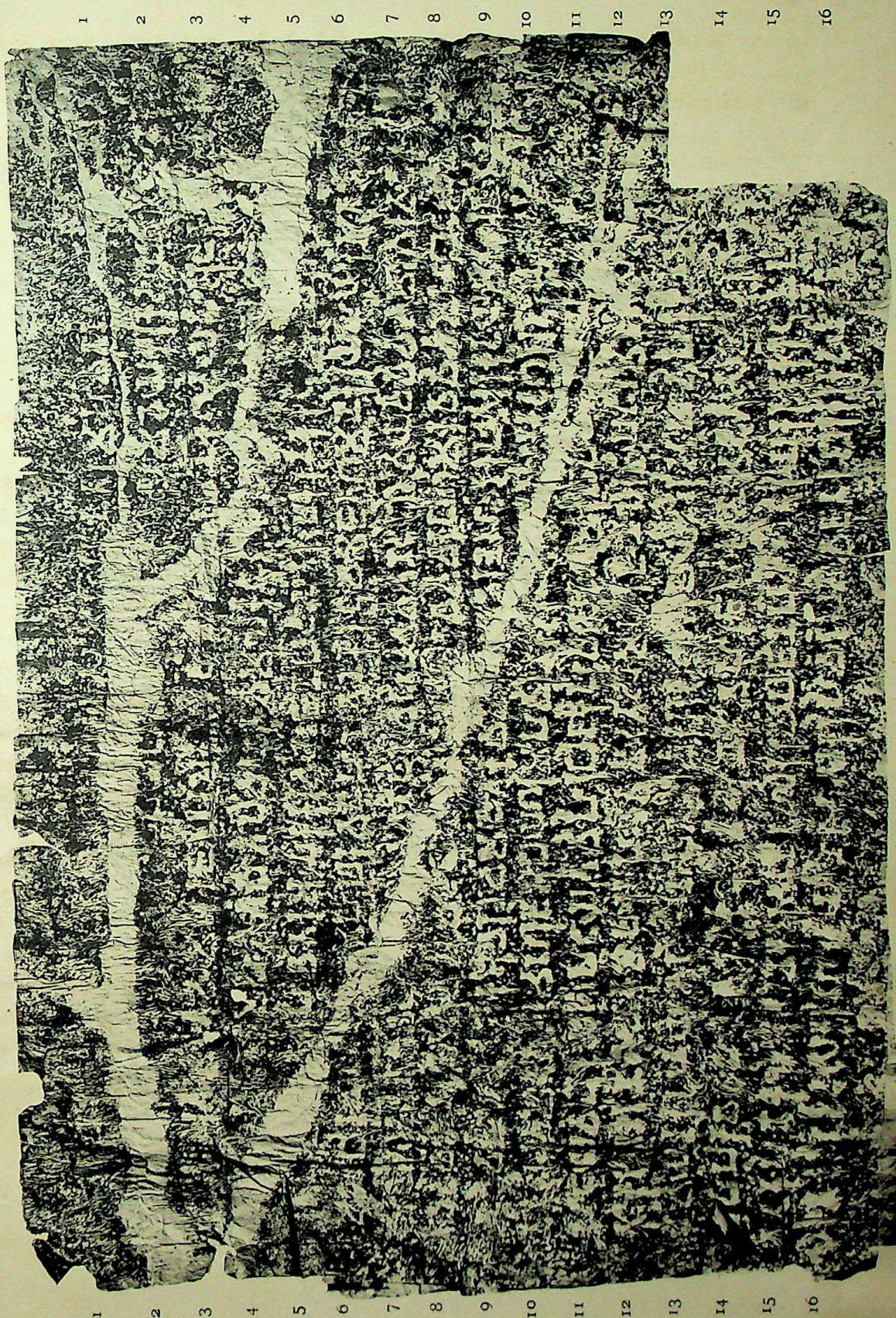
[Lines 9-12] The great king (Maḷu-)Tisa, son [of the great king Naka] granted free of tax [the income derived from the waters of] the tank Viṣaḷa-gamika in Vihira-bijaki unto the congregation of monks and unto . . . . . at the Abhayagiri-mahā-vihāra.

[Lines 12-14] The great king Maḷu-Tisa, son of the great king Naka, causing the construction of Nilarajiya and Gamiṇi-Tisa . . . . . granted free of tax the income derived from water and the income enjoyed by the *bhōjika* as an endowment for the maintenance of the 'Great Refection' at the great Abhayagiri Monastery.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Patanogala*, above, p. 70.



Jētavanārāma inscription of Malu-Tisa (*circa* 229-247 A.D.)



From an ink-impression supplied by the Archaeological Commission, Ceylon  
Scale about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches to 1 foot.







[Lines 14-16] The great king Maḥu-Tisa, son of the great king Naka, causing to be built a 'sitting-hall' . . . . . at the four . . . . . granted free of the *uta* grain-tax, twelve *karīsas* [sowing extent] of (Mahale-ketaka) and twelve *karīsas* [sowing extent] of . . . . ., as well as the two [kinds of] income<sup>1</sup> for the purpose of effecting repairs of dilapidated [buildings].

## REMARKS.

The above translation is offered tentatively. Its accuracy depends much on the correctness of the following interpretation of the obscure words and phrases in the text:—

*Sakala samateya kara kaḍaya* = Skt. *sakalaṃ sammatikaṃ karaṃ kaṇḍa-yitvā* (or *kāḍayitvā*), 'having removed every recognized tax<sup>2</sup>.' Compare, for example, (a) *daka-pata sakala samata dini*<sup>3</sup>, 'the water-income recognized by all was given;' (b) *sakala samatuya catara* [*Chuna*] *mahapati, Baka-maha-patika Gije-pava-koḷasa Kaḍavaka-koḷasa*<sup>4</sup>, 'the four which are recognized by all [namely] the revenues of [*Chuna*] and *Baka*, and the shares at *Gije-pava* and *Kaḍavaka*.' The expression *kara kaḍaya* occurs also in the sense given above in the inscriptions of *Habarana*<sup>5</sup>, *Galkōvila*<sup>6</sup>, and *Tammānnā-kanda*<sup>7</sup>. Compare also *dasa-kārā*, above, p. 103, note 12, and p. 240, note 1.

*Tela ca huti ca mula koḷu* (line 4). I take this to be equivalent to P. *tēla-mūlañ*<sup>8</sup> *ca huti-mūlañ ca katvā*. Dr. Müller, however, reads in the *Habarana* inscription *tela huta mala koḷu*, which he renders 'having made offerings of oil and flowers<sup>9</sup>.'

<sup>1</sup> Namely, *daka-pati* and *bojiya-pati*.

<sup>2</sup> If we, however, take *sakala samateya* as one compound word *sakala-sammatikaṃ*, the translation would run 'having remitted the taxes accepted by all.'

<sup>3</sup> *A. I. C.*, No. 16. Here *pata* is probably an incorrect reading for *pati*. Dr. Müller's rendering of the passage is 'after having seen he gave it over altogether.' With this I cannot agree for reasons advanced on p. 72.

<sup>4</sup> *A. S. C. Seventh Progress Report*, 1891, p. 54. *Samatuya* probably incorrectly for *samatiya*. Mudaliyar Guṇasēkara renders this passage 'all these in common to the four . . . *Chuna-maha-pati*,' &c.

<sup>5</sup> *A. I. C.*, No. 61, where the causative *kaḍavaya* is wrongly transcribed and translated as *karakāḷa waya*, and *karakāḷa wawiya*, 'the *Karakāḷa* tank.'

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 98, where also erroneously *bojiya pati karakāḷaya*, 'having assigned the *Karakāḷa* field.'

<sup>7</sup> *A. S. C. Seventh Progress Report*, 1891, p. 47, Inscr. No. 2.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. P. *diguṇaṃ pupphamūlaṃ*, 'twice the amount of money for flowers;' *mūlaṃ karōti*, 'he provides money.'

<sup>9</sup> Cf. also *tela mala* in his transcript of the *Galkōvila* record (*A. I. C.*, No. 98).



*Catara ayika* (line 5) = P. *cattārō agghikāyō*, Sinh. *satara āgā*. The Pāli form *agghikā* is not in Childers' *Pāli Dictionary*, but Clough, in his *Sinhalese Dictionary*, gives *āgā* with the meaning 'festoon work.' This does not seem to be correct, judging from its use in the following verse from the *Kāvyaśekhara* (i. 102):—

*Ras-udula rat palasa  
vasan'ev ran āgā-pasa  
muga-pala-van sakasa  
perava matu sivura risiyena-lesa.*

'Having put on well and satisfactorily the robe which is of the colour of the fruit of the banyan tree (*nyagrōdha-phala*), just as one covers the side of a golden *āgā* with a brilliantly shining red mantle.' The *sanne* to this verse explains *ran-āgā-pasa* by *svaṇṇa-maya agghikā-pārśvayak*. As mentioned above, the *Mahāvamsa* records the building of *ādimukhas* at the four gates of the Abhayuttara-mahā-thūpa by king Gajabāhu, some thirty years before king Maḷu-Tisa of the present inscription. Whether *ādimukha*, which Wijēsīṇha renders 'arches,' is only another word for *agghikā*, and whether the two statements refer to one and the same event or not I am not sure.

*Jiṇa paṭisatiriya karanaka koṭu* (lines 5 and 15), see above, p. 71.

*Maha-paka-vaṭaha* (line 6) = P. *mahā-pāka-vaṭṭassa*. *Mahā-pāka*, 'the great cooking,' was probably a technical name like *mahāpālī*<sup>1</sup>, given either to the common refectory or to the kitchen of a great monastery, otherwise it is difficult to understand why *pāka-vaṭṭāya* in *Mv.* xxxv. 120 is explained in the *Ṭikā* by *mahā-pāka-vaṭṭatthāya*. The expression *maha maha-paka-vaṭaha*, in lines 13 and 14, also supports this supposition. Here the first *maha* simply qualifies *maha-paka* as a single word having a special meaning.

*Uvanaka koṭu* = P. *uppannakaṃ katvā*, 'having caused the arising.' Similarly, *avanaka* in dates such as *sata avanaka vasahi*, 'in the seventh year,' is derived from Skt. P. *āpanna + ka*, as Mudaliyar Guṇasēkara has already pointed out<sup>2</sup>. The forms *vana*, *veni*, *vāni*, and *vanna* now added to cardinals to convert them to ordinals are obviously derivatives of *āpannaka* or *āpannika*. I do not think they can be connected with *vana* or *vena*, the relative participle, present of *vanavā* or *venavā* (from Skt. *√bhū*).

*Hiya*. See above, p. 71.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 228, note 16.

<sup>2</sup> A. S. C. *Seventh Progress Report*, 1891, p. 48, note 9.



*Dana-vavi* (line 8) = P. *dāna-vāpi*. See above, p. 36, note 8.

*Avaraṇa* (line 9) = Skt. *āvaraṇa*. Cf. Sinh. *avura*, *avuraṇavā*, from Skt. *ā + √vr̥*.

*Daka-pati* (line 9) = P. *daka-patti*. See above, pp. 71-72.

*Daka-patiya* = *daka-pattika*. Compare the intermediate form *patika* in the Aminicciya inscription<sup>1</sup>.

*Karavaya* (line 13) = modern *karavā*, probably derived from a form *\*kārā-pay-ya*, the gerund in *ya* added to the full causative stem, as *tvā* in *kārāpayi-tvā* or *ya* in *-kramayya*. Cf. Whitney's *Sanskrit Grammar*, par. 1051. d., and Geiger's *Litt. und Spr. der Singhalesen*, par. 65. 2.

*Bojiya-patiya* = Skt. *bhōjika-prāptika*, 'the income accruing to the *gāma-bhōjaka*, 'village headman,' or one who enjoys certain proprietary rights in a village. See above, p. 206, notes 7 and 8; p. 250, note 6. The term *bojiya-pati* or *-patiya* occurs in other records of the third century A. D. Dr. Müller translates it 'after having made serve,' 'after having assigned.'

*Karihi* is a difficult form. It is not clear whether this is the locative singular of *kari* (Skt. *khāri*)<sup>2</sup>, or is simply another spelling of *kariha*, *kirīya* (P. *karīsa*), the singular being in both cases used for the plural in a collective sense, or whether we have here a plural ending in *i*.

*Do-pati* = Skt. *dvi-prāpti*, referring to the two (kinds) of income, namely, *daka-pati* and *bojiya-pati*.

*Uta kubara kara*. I take *kubara-kara* to mean 'a grain-tax.' *Uta* describes the special nature of the tax. This word is most probably the same as the modern agricultural term *otta* or *otu*, which Clough renders as 'tax, tithe, duty;' *otu-duty* is one-tenth of anything.

<sup>1</sup> A. S. C. *Seventh Progress Report*, 1891, p. 54.

<sup>2</sup> A. I. C., Nos. 18, 61, 97 (b), 98.







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*yuvā-rad*, 186, 188 n. 5; °*ra*, 46, 50 n. 20; °*ra*, 183.











## ABBREVIATIONS

A. = Apabhraṃśa.  
 Abh. = Abhidhānappadīpikā, edited by Waskaḍuwe Subhūti. Colombo, 1865.  
 A. I. C. = Ancient Inscriptions in Ceylon. By Dr. E. Müller. 2 vols. London, 1883.  
 Am. = Amāwatura, edited by H. Jayatilaka. Colombo, 1885-86.  
 AMg. = Ardha-Māgadhi.  
 Arch. Surv. = Archaeological Survey.  
 A. S. C. = Archaeological Survey of Ceylon.  
 A. S. S. I. = Archaeological Survey of Southern India.  
 A. S. W. I. = Archaeological Survey of Western India.  
 Bt. = Bell's Text.  
 C B. R. A. S. = Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.  
 C. I. I. or Corp. Inscript. Ind. = Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.  
 Comp. Gram. = A Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India. By John Beames. 3 vols. London, 1872-79.  
 Dh. = Dhammapada (Fausböll's edition, 1885).  
 Dv. = Dīpavaṃsa.  
 Ep. Ind. = Epigraphia Indica.  
 E. S. = Etymologie des Singhalesischen, von Wilhelm Geiger. München, 1897.  
 Gram. = Grammar or Grammatik.  
 Hc. = Hēmacandra.

Ind. Ant. = Indian Antiquary.  
 J. or Journ. = Journal.  
 Jay. = H. Jayatilaka's Elu-Akārādiya. Colombo, 1893.  
 JM. = Jaina-Māhārāṣṭrī. JS. = Jaina-Śaurasēnī.  
 Lit. = literally.  
 L. S. S. = Litteratur und Sprache der Singhalesen, von Wilhelm Geiger. Strassburg, 1900.  
 M. = Māhārāṣṭrī. Mg. = Māgadhi.  
 Mp. = Müller's plate. Mt. = Müller's text.  
 Mv. = Mahāvamsa. Mv. T. = Mahāvamsa Tīkā.  
 M. W. Dict. = Sir Monier Monier-Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary. Oxford, 1899.  
 Nām. = Nāmāvaliya.  
 Or. Soc. = Oriental Society.  
 P. = Pāli. p. = page. par. = paragraph.  
 Piyum. = Piyummala.  
 p. p. p. = past participle passive. Pkt. = Prākṛit.  
 R. A. S. = Royal Asiatic Society.  
 Ruvan. = Ruvanmala.  
 Ś. = Śaurasēnī.  
 S. B. E. = Sacred Books of the East, edited by F. Max Müller.  
 Sinh. = Sinhalese. Skt. = Sanskrit.  
 T. = George Turnour.  
 W. = L. C. Wijēsīṃha, translator of the Mahāvamsa.  
 Z. D. M. G. = Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.



## ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

- Page 31, text line 9, for අවු read අවු
- 32, text line 26, for සැර read පෙර
- 32, text line 33, for සබාවසුන් read සබාවසුන්
- 33, transcript line 26, for sāra read pere, and delete note 15
- 34, transcript line 33, for Sabāvasun read Sabāvaḍun
- 37, lines 8-9, for hostile ravagers [or] any barbarians read *vāri* (labourers), *pere-nāṣṭiyam* [or] inhabitants of the *dasa-gam* (serf-villages?)
- 37, note 9, add and *pere* possibly from P. *pure*. Compare, however, the forms *perenāṣṭiyam* °nāṣṭu, °nāṣṭuvam, and °nāṣṭu, below, pp. 53 note 15, 187, 189 note 5, 197, 199, 205, 207.
- 37, note 10, add See, moreover, the remarks on *dasa-gama*, below, pp. 243-244.
- 38, lines 5-8, for Mekāppar Vādārum . . . . . ceremonies, read Mekāppar Vat-kāmi Sabāvaḍunnā Raksayim, Mekāppar Valu(vaṇisāsāka)yim and Kaliṅgu Āmbā Kitla-deṭim, [all] of the family of Mekāppar Vādārum Bamba Senevi Lokanāthan and also Kuḍasalā Vat-kām-deṭim of the family of Vaṭarak Saṅgārak-samaṇa
- 38, note 2, add See also below, pp. 193-194.
- 45, text line 34, for ඩා read ඩා
- 45, text line 36, for හවුරු read හවුරු
- 45, text line 45, for පියා read පියා
- 48, transcript line 45, for viyo read piyo
- 53, note 13, add For a fuller explanation, see below, p. 251, note 6.
- 54, line 18, for destitute read impartial
- 54, note 1, add For a fuller explanation, see below, p. 251, note 6.
- 55, note 6, add This clause may also be rendered, 'In all these places belonging to Abahay-giri-vehera, [namely] in the image-house, in the dāgaba, in the Maha-bo-ge,' &c.
- 56, line 17, for brought about dissension among read practiced dissimulation towards
- 56, note 7, for viyo read piyo  
for viyōga read prayōga
- 57, lines 16-21, for A record . . . . . expiration of [every] year read Eight persons from the two seats [or chapters] together with four impartial and four elderly persons delegated, with the concurrence of the monks, by the recipients of *parivēṇas*, shall inquire into [the income and expenditure of] the *parivēṇas*, and making a record [thereof] at the expiration of [every] year, shall read out [the same] before the great congregation of monks.
- 69, note 14, add Cf. *yasa pīṭusataka* in Nāsik, No. 10, line 4 (*Ep. Ind.* viii. p. 78).
- 70, line 13, for four read six
- 112, lines 14-15, for go repeatedly round read watch over
- 112, note 9, for 'having repeatedly gone,' . . . . . ✓gam read 'having watched over,' from P. *jaggati*, Skt. *jāgr*. I am indebted to Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka for this suggestion.
- 113, line 9, for near the 'stone-canoe' read north-east of Thūpārāma
- 113, line 10, for This inscription lies near the so-called 'stone-canoe,' a few yards to the east read This inscribed slab stands at a distance of a quarter of a mile north-east of the Thūpārāma dāgaba. It has now been re-erected by the Archaeological Survey Department.
- 115, lines 1-2, delete and only a few yards from the spot where the present inscription is
- 158, text B, line 4, for කු read කු
- 159, transcript B, line 4, for ku read tu
- 159, delete note 1.
- 161, line 7, for great king has granted . . . . . Bamuṇ-kumbara read Maharādayan Bamuṇ (Brāhmaṇa) has granted to the dispensary at Tumbarab (Thūpārāma)







